THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK AND JOB-SEEKING BEHAVIOUR AMONG YOUTH IN THREE CITIES OF JAVA

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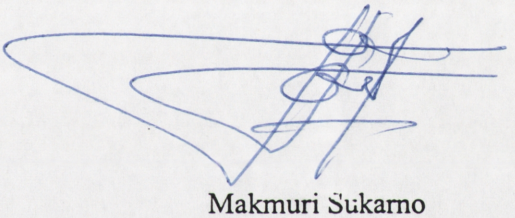
Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work undertaken as a scholar in the Demography Program, Division of Demography and Sociology, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, from July 1994 to May 1998.



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ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the effects of social origin and education on young people's transition from school to employment in a situation where unemployment among the educated is high. The study is mainly based on a survey of 3000 respondents, and in-depth interviews.

Social origin and education determine the pattern of transition of the young people: their search behaviour, job search methods, job search process and the outcome, occupational attainment. Children of parents with low education have longer unemployment periods, find jobs that are unmatched with their education and consequently, tend to continue searching for alternative jobs while employed. Continued searching for job while employed or unemployed appears to be a result of 'coercion' rather than 'luxury'. This may relate to the fact that the socio-economic status of their parents, measured by education and occupation, provides occupations that were significantly low. The significant effect of the types of help given by parents on children's occupations also suggests that the involvement of parents in job acquisition is important in paving the way for their children's careers.

Education also has significant and independent effects on occupation, so education also provides a channel for social mobility. Nevertheless, since parents' education has strong effects on both children's education and occupation, it seems that there is still a strong tendency for socio-economic status transmission from generation to generation, or a vicious circle: poor children get poor education and jobs.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1. The setting and problems

The New Order government of Indonesia has been trying to develop the country through the Trilogy of development: national stability, economic growth, and income distribution. The educational policy, has its main objectives to equalize educational opportunity, to improve the quality and the relevance of education to the need of development, and improve the efficiency of its management (Djojonegoro, 1994: 3-19); thus education is a means to achieve the national goals. Education, as one of Eight Channels of Distribution (*Delapan Jalur Pemerataan*), is also meant to reduce social inequality. Nevertheless, whether public subsidization of education reduces inequality has not been fully understood. Some evidence from a number of developing countries indicates, however, that the subsidies often favour the rich (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 1990:272).

In Indonesian, questions regarding the effectiveness of education as a means to reduce inequality are increasingly important for a number of reasons: first, the enrollment rate of pupils aged 14 and above in 1995 has declined relative to the 1980s (Jones et al., forthcoming); second, unemployment among young educated people has rapidly increase in the last decade[1]; third, education, in Javanese society in particular, gives less stress to character building on equity, and more emphasis on reproduction of the social order (Mulder, 1985: 39); fourth, educational policy which emphasis efficiency and provides a chance for private sector to create elite schools will be likely to exacerbate class and ethnic

[1]In Indonesia, the proportion of those who were classified in the residual 'others' category outside the labour-force, many of whom were 'discouraged' job seekers, also doubled from 10 per cent in 1976-78 to 20 per cent in 1986-87 (Jones and Manning, 1992: 12).

segregation in schooling. Fifth, job acquisition is marked by competition which tends to exacerbate and widen class and ethnic inequalities in occupation.

Given this setting, this study takes young people's transition from school to work as the entry point for exploring the stratification of young people: the relationships between social origin, education, job-seeking behaviour and occupational attainment.

Three cities, Jakarta, Semarang and Surabaya, were chosen for the study for a number of reasons. The three cities are among the largest cities of Indonesia, –Jakarta and Surabaya are the first and the second largest cities respectively– all this opens a wide range of educational and occupational opportunities and makes these cities migration destinations of people with different characteristics and origin throughout Indonesia. Secondly, as in other cities of Indonesia, the unemployment rate in the three cities has increased during the 1980-1990 period, mainly because of the increase in young job-seekers, with high educational qualification in particular (Ministry of Manpower, 1993:150; Godfrey, 1993:10).

Jones (1993:230) wrote:

> The 1990s will be the last decade in which the rapid overall growth of the labour-force will constitute a major problem, but the problem will be exacerbated in its labour market impact by the additional problem of absorbing rapidly growing numbers of educated workers.

Based on these facts, therefore, those three cities are assumed to provide data that could reflect tight competition on schooling and school-to-work transition among young people from different social and economic background. The survey data available from the three cities also provides some variables to study the issue of transition and stratification, including its regional differential.

Beside the rapid increase in educated job seekers and migration, the education curriculum is also regarded as a factor contributing to the transition problem (Santoso,1993; Drost, 1993; Buchory, 1993). The growing number of

school-leavers who are taking vocational courses supports the assumption that formal schooling is simply not enough to find suitable jobs. Apprenticeship as part of the 'link and match' ideas launched by the Ministry of Education (*Kompas*, 19 March 1994) is also a symptom of the ineffectiveness of the school system in preparing students to enter the world of employment.

Transition problems will also arise if the education system sets artificial limits to both occupational aspirations and the range of employment opportunities (Blackman, 1987: 29) which do not match the occupational opportunities in the labour market. Occupational aspiration as a key factor in determining people's self identification as well as social identities is becoming more important but is also critical since their occupational choice is limited in the labour market. How do young job seekers react to the limited demand for labour? How do school-leavers with different social background, sex and education compete in finding an acceptable job? Do they have different strategies and different responses?

In the situation where unemployment rates, the transition period (post-school training activities) and difficulties in obtaining 'stable' employment are rising, it is likely that this situation will change: first, the timing of the 'traditional' life-course of schooling-employment-marriage-independence from parents (housing). Second, traditional social role expectations – males as breadwinners, females as homemakers – will be readjusted into new aspirations.

In Indonesia where kinship networks are still strong, fierce competition in finding jobs may induce young people to use their kinship networks besides intellectual capital, money and power relations. Therefore, the role of ascribed factors that are inherited from parents is likely to increase. So a paradox occurs. Mass education, which was meant to give equal opportunity, so as to reduce the influence of ascribed factors, results in high unemployment of educated people,

which in turn encourages the increase of ascribed factors in occupational attainment.

These contrasts, rapidly growing education on the one hand and limited occupational opportunity and the growing role of ascribed factors on the acquisition of jobs on the other hand, may result in the demise of the role of education as a means to achieve equality.

> With the growing disparities between educational enrollments and occupational opportunities, it is clear that benefits derived from a given level of education have declined and may, in fact, have declined differentially for various social, cultural and ethnic groups. Because of this differential decline, there may be increased differences in the demand of these various groups for further education, and in the patterns of selection underlying their access to educational institutions. If it is true, formal schooling will no longer facilitate upward mobility and mediate a redistribution of wealth, but confirm the advantages of the most modernized groups, as well as the privileges of emerging middle and upper classes. In this sense, schools perpetuate existing inequalities (Clignet, 1980: 76).

Under these circumstances, equal opportunity in education for equal opportunity in employment as a political goal is difficult to achieve.

To change this tendency, it is important to understand how social background affects education, and how these factors affect job-seeking behaviour and occupational status attainment, in order to set relevant and effective policies to achieve those political goals.

1.2. Relationships of family background, education and occupation: theoretical perspectives

Both in sociological and in economic theories, there are at least two conflicting views; first, the view which posits the functional link between social origin, education and occupational attainment. In the industrialization process the public sphere allows a universalistic value in the economy (efficiency) in contrast to the private or social origin which is seen as diminishing. The role of education as a rational mechanism for improving skill in turn is shifting the locus of human capital formation and allocation of people from the family to school. The occupational structure, which is becoming increasingly specialized, demands

capable labour in the light of efficiency rather than of kinship. In this traditional functionalist theory, therefore, the role of education in the relationship between social origin, educational and occupational attainment changes when technology changes (de Graaf, 1986). On the other hand, social reproduction theory suggests that the school's function is unchanged: that it is to legitimate persistent inequality where the education system serves as a socialization process, of inequality in school, for children before commencing socio-economic inequality out of school (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977).

1.2.1. Human capital theory and modernization theory

Human capital theory assumes that higher expected life time income than the current opportunity cost determines investment in human capital through efforts such as education, on-the-job training, medical care, migration and searching for information (Becker, 1975: 9; Woodhall, 1987: 1-2). Since younger rather than older people and males rather than females are likely to have a longer time to participate in the labour-force to obtain a higher return on the investment, therefore younger and male people are preferable for human capital investment such as in education and seeking jobs (Becker, 1975:64-75). The total amount of investment in human capital also differs among persons because of differences on the demand side, such as purchasing power of parents, and the supply side such as distribution of educational institutions (Becker, 1975:106-107). Human capital theory also predicts that those who have better education will have better skills and are more likely to participate in the labour-force and obtain a better occupation (Hinchliffe, 1987:142). Nevertheless, this theory ignores the role of educational institutions in social and power relations in society.

Human capital theory emphasizes changing individual characteristics as a result of investment in human capital as a predictor of occupation or earning, so

social and structural factors and the nature of jobs as sources of income differentials are ignored. Human capital theory also lacked an explanation for the role of social and class background in determining the future occupational attainment of individuals.

Although it emphasizes individual characteristics, human capital theory is important, because it not only explains the consequence of investment (future earning or occupation) but also explains the cause. Those who have a better chance to get funds, and are expected to have longer participation in the labour-force and consequently longer time to return the investment, have a better incentive to invest in human capital (Becker, 1975:106-107; Hinchliffe, 1987:142). Human capital implies differentials in the social demand for investment in human capital.

As in human capital theory, functionalist-oriented modernization theorists such as Blau and Duncan (1967) and Treiman (1970), suggest that organizational and technological complexity in modern society increasingly demand an educated workforce. Achieved attributes, such as education, are becoming a 'universal criterion' that replaces ascribed values such as race, family background and connections for social selection. Functionalist-oriented modernization theorists emphasize organizational and technological complexity in modern society which determines the demand for an educated workforce (Treiman, 1970) and schools are seen as the most important agency of socialization for creating adult workers for modern institutions (Levin, 1987:151). The industrialization process, therefore, provides a chance for social mobility in which education is seen as the most important vehicle of social mobility.

1.2.2 Social reproduction theories

In contrast to human capital theory and functionalist theories, economists such as Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Jencks et al., (1972) view education as a

screening instrument for allocating the workforce in the labour market and to legitimate inequality. Education is seen as an instrument for matching an individual to social and occupational strata. Neo-Marxist sociologists such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) view the process of educational differentiation among pupils, as a sorting mechanism ensuring pupils from different class backgrounds reach the educational and occupational levels appropriate to their own class origin (in Brown, 1987:9). According to Blossfeld and Shavit (1993:8-9), reproduction theory emphasizes '.....education as an instrument by which dominant social elite exclude other classes from attaining desirable occupation'. This could happen because as Okano (1992:15) asserted, schooling plays three roles: dividing people into different levels of education, transmitting dominant values, and legitimating the hierarchy on a meritocratic basis, where 'merit' is determined by the dominant culture.

The transition-related problem is seen as a structural problem. That is why radical Marxist sociologists view intervention (*ad hoc*) programs such as vocational training schemes introduced by the elite as 'additional means to social control' which cannot solve the transition problem. Resistance theory by Neo-Marxist sociologists such as Apple (1979) however, argues that the school's function in reproducing values determined by dominant classes or economic forces is never complete, because schools have relative autonomy and pupils from different classes also have a resistant culture. Resistance theory implies that the root of the transition problem may be found in a broader perspective that is in the interaction of youth in the family, the school and the community.

1.3. The status attainment model

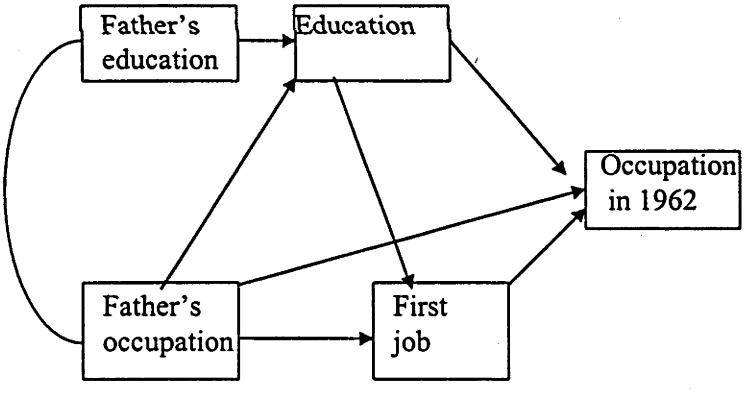
The status attainment model is initially meant to verify the stratification process in a particular society (Coser, 1975), as an empirical approach or method

incorporating several contradictory theories on the mechanisms governing the stratification process, and to estimate the relative importance of social origin and education and their interrelationships in a particular population (Duncan, 1968, in Bielby, 1981:5). In this sense, the status attainment model is a corridor which some theories could enter and explain the mechanism of the transmission of socio-economic status from one generation to another. The status attainment model, according to Sewell and Hauser (1975:50), postulates that

> socioeconomic background affects mental ability, that background and ability affect educational attainment, that background, ability and education affect occupational achievement, and that all of the preceding variables affect earnings...[The status attainment model].....exhausts the influence of fundamental conditions of ascription and achievement...., factors of luck or chance are implicated in the process of achievement ... (Sewell and Hauser, 1975:184).

In the work of Blau, Duncan and Tyree ([1967] 1994), as shown in Figure 1.1, the status attainment model puts education as an intermediate variable which links background and occupation.

Figure 1.1: Status attainment model (Basic Model).



Blau, Duncan and Tyree ([1967], 1994:321)

From these explanations, it is clear that modernization theory and social reproduction theory in sociology and human capital theory in economics shed light on the issue of this study and the status attainment model provides a way to measure the effect of social origin on education and the effect of these two factors on occupation.

1.4. Status attainment model: limitations and its extension

The status attainment model is criticized as 'theory-laden' and linked to a functionalist theoretical framework (Horan, 1978:536), because, as with the human capital theory, the status attainment model emphasizes individual factors and ignores the influence of structural factors on achievement or attainment. Nevertheless, there are arguments defending the status attainment model as an approach which indirectly incorporates the structural factors in the model. Attainment studies are designed to measure the magnitude of organizational influences of family and education, factors which are clearly 'structural' in the sociological sense and occupation as the dependent variable is not divorced from the influence of organization since detailed occupations circumscribe the organizational promotion ladder (Baron, 1994:388). Another argument is that, in a situation where the free market and deregulation of markets have been attempted to boost efficiency, contest mobility and meritocratic values seem likely to homogenize, rather than to heterogenize-- the organizational behaviour of school and labour markets, which in turn, result in a decrease in the significance of organizational issues in this study.

Another criticism of human capital theory and the status attainment model is made by Granovetter:

> The two traditions that dominate current research in sociology and economics – status attainment research and human capital theory, respectively – are curiously similar in their nearly exclusive attention to characteristics and decision of individuals and their neglect of the nature of jobs and matching process....how such 'resources' are 'converted' to income is here merely begged, and we are left with the assertion that individual characteristics generate income[2] (1994:372).

Indeed, the vacancy competition model (Thurow, 1975) emphasizes the matching process and the role of educational qualification in the matching process. Nevertheless, vacancy competition model seems to neglect non-educational factors,

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[2] Criticism toward human capital theory is also made by the Vacancy competition model (Thurow,1975) 'signaling' (Spence, 1974) and 'screening' hypotheses (Stiglitz, 1975). Those theories

parental background in particular, in the job allocation of children. The role of parents in job acquisition for their children, especially where unemployment is high among educated people, is very important. As Bourdieu (1986:147) pointed out, as a result of mass education and high unemployment among educated people, a struggle involving strategies of parents, of high occupational status in particular, to help their offspring to inherit their social class, is one of the most important factors in the transformation of social structures.

> The specific contradiction of the scholastic of reproduction lies in the opposition between the interests of the class which the educational system serves statistically and the interests of those class members whom it sacrifices, that is the 'failures' who are threatened with 'de-classement' for lack of the qualifications formally required of rightful members... The individual substitution strategies which one group may employ to try to escape down-classing and to return to their class trajectory and those which another group employs to rebuild the interrupted path of hoped -for trajectories, are now one of the most important factors in the transformation of social structure.

Unlike human capital theory (Becker, 1975) which only indirectly relates the parental background to the rate of return on education through the amount invested for searching for job information, reproduction theory (Bourdieu, 1986:134) asserts that... 'the rate of return on education capital is a function of the economic *and social capital* that can be devoted to exploiting it' (italics added).

Based on the above explanation, therefore, there is a theoretical reason to include the 'matching process', job search methods in particular, in the status attainment model to answer *how* individual characteristic (educational resource) is converted to job or income: a question that, according to Granovetter (1994:372), is merely taken for granted by human capital theory and early status attainment model (Figure 1.1). Through this 'extended model' (see Figure 1.2) we can examine how parental background and education determine the job-search methods and their relative importance in occupational attainment.

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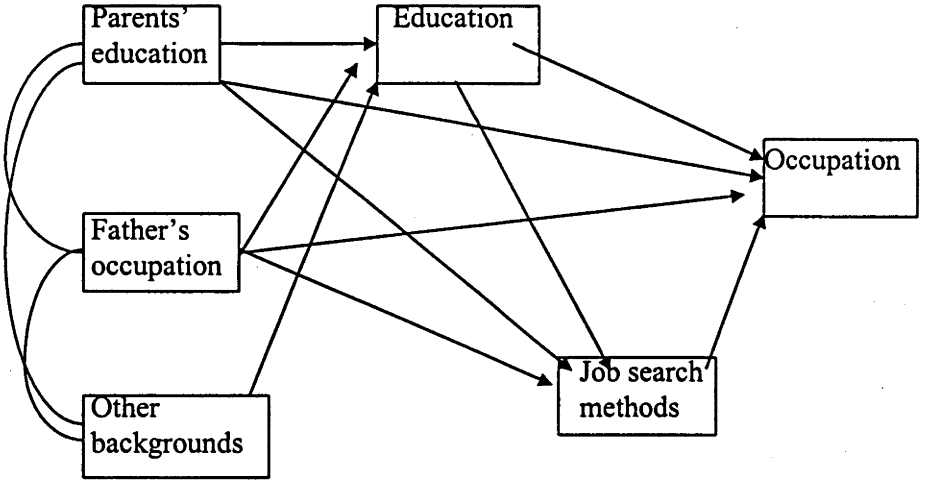
explain the matching process with emphasis on the role of employers in estimating 'the potential productivity' through educational levels of job seekers.

The job search methods and labour-force participation are explored in this study, because both job-seeking behaviour and labour-force participation are regarded as factors in the stratification.

The inclusion in the study of the issues of job-seeking behaviour and labour-force participation among young people in particular is important for other reasons: first, different participation in the labour-force between males and females results in inequality between them (Semyonov, 1980:542). Second, job-seeking behaviour, in the younger ages in particular, was regarded as behaviour which results in high mobility and rapid income growth (Parsons, 1991:597). Third, job-seeking behaviour has rarely been studied in developing countries.

According to Banerjee and Bucci (1995:565) no one in a developing country has studied and tested the theory of search behaviour. Banerjee and Bucci (1995) examined determinants of job search among employed migrants in India, and Fergus (1992) studied the issue in Indonesia, but in contrast to this study, they did not include parental background in the analysis[3].

Figure 1.2. Status attainment model (Extended).



⌒ = the relationships are not the focus of the analysis.
→ = influence (expected).

[3] Banerjee and Bucci include caste, but the category (dichotomous) was very rough: scheduled caste and otherwise.

Other background includes place of birth, religion, and ethnicity.
Job search methods = source of job information, the availability of help given by other people, types of help, social ties of helpers.

1.5. Theories on job-seeking behaviour.

From Bourdieu's formula that practice = (habitus x resource) + field, Okano derived a specific theory of job-search practice. According to Okano (1992:206) a student's decision making and the acquisition of job result from the interaction between the student's habitus (way of thinking, values and pattern of interpretation) and available resources (in school, the family and the employment market). Habitus is an acquired system of generative schema, which generate perceptions, including perceptions toward occupation, thoughts, expressions and actions (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977:72-95).

Their capital or resources consist of four types: cultural capital, including linguistic or ethnic identity and educational capital; social capital, such as social network or family background and the family network of the job-seekers; symbolic capital, such as involvement of job-seekers in school or out-of-school organizations; and economic capital, financial support for job search) (Okano, 1992:206). Some aspects in which the interaction between the job-seeker's habitus and the available resources are manifest, are labour mobility: entering or moving out of the labour-force; method used in job acquisition; occupational and spatial mobility; and the length of the job-search period.

1.6. Aims of the study

With these kinds of setting and the deficiency of the research as mentioned above, the topic of the proposal focuses on, first, general issues of the 'transition from school to work and job-seeking behaviour' in three cities of Java. The issues include several topics: educational attainment, participation in the

labour-force, job search behaviour and occupational attainment. The aims of the study are:

1. to identify the determinants of educational attainment, labour-force participation, job-seeking behaviour and occupational attainment among youth aged 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java;

2. To identify the job search process among young employees (qualitative research in Semarang).

The application of the status attainment model (Bielby (1981:5) to the first aim of this study will reveal the stratification process of the people in the sample.

1.7. Hypotheses.

1) Young people with parents who have higher levels of education and occupation are more likely to attain higher education qualification and occupation and to have smoother school-to-work transition than those whose parents have lower levels of education and occupation. One of the reasons is that the former are likely to have better social and cultural resources and economic supports from their parents than the latter.

2) In a condition of high unemployment among educated people, many educated people are entering jobs that are mismatched with their aspiration. Therefore, employed youth who have high educational qualifications are more likely to search for alternative jobs while employed. One of the reasons is that they have wider job dispersions and higher present value of expected returns than youth with lower educational qualifications or older workers.

3) Young people with lower education qualifications and with parents of higher socio-economic status are more likely to be helped by other people in finding jobs than those with parents in lower occupations. One of the reasons is that those with lower educational qualifications have a lower level of

competitiveness in finding jobs while those with parents of high socio-economic status can receive help from them in finding a job.

4) Youth with high educational qualifications are more likely to find jobs through weak social ties, such as friends, and impersonal networks, such as advertisement, while those with low educational qualifications are more likely to seek a job through strong social ties, such as families. One of the reasons is that young people with high educational qualifications can search for a job more intensively; they have wider social contacts and access to impersonal networks.

From the survey data, it was only possible to describe the correspondence of several variables, if any, to the transition and job-seeking behaviour among youth. However, it is still not known how school, family background and other factors considered in the study actually reproduce or produce social inequality in the stratification of educational attainment, job acquisition and employment attainment. It is in the interest of the study to explain how those variables, especially family background and education, reproduce inequality in their aspirations, and ways of seeking and attaining jobs. Therefore, ethnographic study is necessary to achieve this purpose.

1.8. Contribution to the body of knowledge

In this study I intend to contribute to the body of knowledge in two ways. First, it presents a picture from a developing country. A major gap in school-to-work transition research and literature is the absence of studies which go beyond the context of the Western, and in particular, Anglophone societies (Okano, 1992:30). Okano contributed to the study with a different picture of transition in Japanese societies. However, a non-Western and less 'painful' experience shown in his study, cannot be extrapolated into the experience of school-leavers in most

developing countries. Unlike in Japan where the three parties, parents, school, and employers, sit together for coping with the transition problem, this policy does not exist in developing countries. Major factors which create the transition problem – combined factors of the high speed of educational expansion and labour-force growth with lack of the three parties network – do exist in many developing countries, including Indonesia. A study on the transition from school to work and job-seeking behaviour in a developing country, therefore, is expected to contribute a different picture.

Second, besides describing the correspondence between family background, educational attainment and employment attainment, this study also focuses on job-seeking behaviour. This study contributes a picture of the matching process, which is ignored in many of the studies using the status attainment and human-capital model.

1.9. Relevance to policies

The policy implications of this study will depend on the findings. If the study confirms that young people's transition and their employment prospects depend on demographic factors, family background and educational attainment, this will mean that: first, reward system in the society is based on both merit (education) and non-merit (demographic and class) factors. The non-merit factors would be likely to cause an un-smoothness transition of young people into work – thus wastage in human resources – and unequal employment opportunity. This biased reward system toward children of particular demographic and socio-economic groups would be incompatible with the growing demand for equal access to employment resulting from better education. This could result in social tensions. Second, if the existing reward system is also based on non-educational factors, relevant policy for 'equal educational opportunity for equal employment

opportunity' cannot be achieved merely through mass education. The relevant policy initiatives need to consider demographic and parental socio-economic factors.

1.10. Sources of data

The main source of data available for the study is the data survey 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment: Education and Employment among Youth (15-29 years) in Urban Areas' (*Pendidikan dan Ketenagakerjaan Penduduk Usia Muda (15-29 Tahun) di Daerah Perkotaan*) conducted by PPT-LIPI in 1994. The survey was conducted in three cities of Java: Jakarta (1750 respondents), Semarang (500 respondents) and Surabaya (750 respondents). The 1980 and 1990 census data are supplementary sources of information.

Census data analysis identified that the 'youth problem' is concentrated in Java, so the three big cities in Java were chosen purposively because in geographical terms those three cities are assumed to represent the socio-demographic picture of urban youth of Java in particular and Indonesia as a whole. From 10 municipalities available in the three cities, 10 sub-municipalities were chosen in the first stage and 10 sub-sub-district levels were chosen in the second stage based on the density of the population. Systematic random sampling technique was used to choose 104 units of sub-sub-sub district (*Rukun Wilayah*), 1001 units of *Rukun Tetangga* (the smallest administrative unit), and 5252 eligible respondents. Systematic random sampling technique is also employed to obtain 3000 respondents out of 5252 eligible respondents (Tirtosudarmo, Noveria and Rusman, 1995:13-14).

The data cover five main aspects: basic demographic aspects, family background, educational characteristics, labour-force participation, methods of job search and occupation. Demographic aspects consist of age, sex, number of

siblings, marital status, religion and ethnicity. Family background consists of parents' education and father's occupation. Parents' education was obtained through transforming the categorical data of father's and mother's education into continuous data as years of schooling, summing both parents' years of schooling and then dividing by two. Parents' education was chosen rather than only father's education or mother's education because both father's and mother's education are considered to have important impacts on both educational attainment and the transition from school to work of the children.

Educational attainment is measured by number of years in school. Job search behaviour is obtained from data on labour-force status and search modes, while search methods cover information on source of job information, length of unemployment, whether the employees were helped in finding a job, the characteristics of helpers, and types of help.

Occupational attainment data are in continuous form, is measured by Standard International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (Ganzeboom, de Graaf, Treiman and de Leeuw, 1992). Further details of this Index will be explained in Chapter 8. This study includes a qualitative survey to collect data on the process of seeking jobs among respondents with different levels of education and parental occupations.

1.11. Limitations of the data

There are at least five limitations to the data. First, the survey data lack information on the structural aspects which provide the magnitude and type of job available that certainly have affected the aspirations, behaviour and attainment of young people.

The second limitation is that there is no clear information on the order of events of several aspects such as schooling, employment and marriage. Although

most of the respondents are likely to have the sequence of schooling, getting a job and marriage, any deviation or variation in the sequence is likely to have different effects on the correspondence between family background, educational attainment, and employment attainment. However, since the focus of this study is not the order of events or the variation in the sequence of transition from school to work, but the correspondence between family background, educational attainment, job-seeking behaviour and employment attainment, the absence of such data will not be a major problem.

The third limitation is that there is no information on public and private sectors. Usually there are clear differences in recruitment procedures between the private sector and the public sector, and people behave in different ways for different targets of their job searches. Information on these differences is not in a form that enables us to examine this behaviour. However, since the data on occupation were coded in a Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status, in which data are treated in continuous and hierarchical order(Ganzeboom et al., 1992), the problem of formal-informal sectors and dual labour market will be solved within the occupational order, assuming that formal sector and modern-sector occupations tend to be in the higher order.

The fourth limitation is that each respondent is restricted to choosing only one, the most important, method in searching for jobs. Besides the fact that this single option may not be realistic because many of those who seek or have found jobs have used multiple methods, there is no information to examine the types of combined methods used by different groups and which one is the most effective method.

The fifth limitation is that there is no information on the quality of education of both parents and children. The quality of parents' and children's

education is assumed to affect children's occupational attainment, through the provision of the 'old-boys network' of parents' as well as children's education.

1.12. Qualitative data

Qualitative data were collected in two months in Semarang in 1996. The purpose of the in-depth interview with 30 respondents is to explain the process of job search among youth with different typologies. Beside youth in the survey, key informants, such as job brokers, parents and personnel managers, in public as well as private sectors, were also interviewed.

The case study population was drawn from respondents in the survey and stratified on the basis of the key differentials identified in the macro analysis. Individual samples were selected at random from each stratum. Random sampling is used merely to eliminate unnecessary bias in the selection procedures and it does not imply statistical representativeness.

The in-depth interview is directed towards the following problems or questions: (1) the process of searching for jobs among youth since leaving school.

(2) Is there any effect of different sex, family background and educational background on the patterns of job-seeking behaviour? (3) In what ways do the patterns of job-seeking behaviour of males differs from the pattern of females, high family backgrounds differ from the lower ones, and the more educated from less educated background?(4) What are the reasons?

1.13. Methodology

This study is designed to address a general research question: how is educational attainment among youth influenced by parental background and how are labour-force participation, job-seeking behaviour and occupational attainment among youth influenced by their parental background, and educational background?

As in the work of Sewell and Hauser (1975:11, 49-53[4]), regression methods are also used for analyzing direct and indirect effects of independent variables in causal models or path models of the status attainment process. To analyze search behaviour multinomial logit technique is used.

Cross-tabulation is used to analyze the trends in education and employment among youth (Chapter 2). Multiple regression is applied to analyze the effect of variables on educational attainment (Chapter 3) and occupational attainment (Chapter 8). Logistic regression is applied to analyze the effect of variables on labour-force participation and job-search method (Chapter 4 and 6) and multinomial logit is used to analyze job-search behaviour (Chapter 5). The process of searching for jobs (Chapter 7) is based on life history data, therefore ethnographic methods are used.

1.13.1. Multiple Regression

$$Yi = bo + b1*X1j + b2*X2j + ...bkXk + ei$$

where Yi = dependent variable (continuous variable)
bo = intercept.
bi = the average change in Y caused by a unit change in X1, controlling for all variable X2 to X*k*

Multiple regression is, according to Soeradji and Hatmadji (1982:15), part of multiple classification analysis, making it possible to use non-continuous variables as independent variables and to know the effect of each of the independent variables on the dependent variable. Multiple regression can show the total effect and direct effect of each independent variable, after it was controlled by other variables. Therefore the technique of path model can be used (see Sewell and Hauser, 1975: 49-53).

[4] The method of path analysis is used in this study is based on the example shown in the work of Sewell and Hauser (1975:51-57).

Employing the null hypothesis, the change in R squared indicates the magnitude of the additional fraction explained by the inclusion of variables in the model. In this 'additive model', the significance of the additional fraction explained by additional regressors included in the model (Δ R squared) was tested by partial F-test.

$$\Delta F = \frac{\Delta \text{ R squared}/ q}{(1 - \text{R squared}) / (N - p - 1)'}$$

where :

Δ R squared = the change in R squared across models

Δ R squared/ q = the average increase in R squared of regressors

(1- R squared) = the unexplained proportion of variation after the addition of q regressor in the model.

(N - p - 1) = the degrees of freedom in the unexplained variation, where

N = the number of cases in the equation

p = the number of independent variables in the equation

q = the number of additional variables put in the more complex model.

This 'hierarchical strategy', in this study, where the causally prior variables are put in advance, as in Soeradji and Hatmadji (1982:15), assumes that the order of events should be reflected in the order of variables in the model. So sex, age, and number of siblings were basic variables of the respondents where the influence on the educational attainment comes before the influence of socio-environmental factors, such as place of birth, region, ethnicity, and religion and where these later variables also influence parental background variables. Migration and marriage tend to be experienced by the respondent in the later ages, so these variables were put in the last order.

1.13.2Logistic regression.

To analyze participation in the labour-force (Chapter 4) and method of job search and the length of unemployment (Chapter 6), since the dependent variables are binary, and the distribution of the residual is therefore binomial rather than

normal distribution, logistic regression technique is used. Independent variables predict the odds of an event occurring, for example participating in the labour-force. The maximum likelihood method is used to estimate the model parameters.

The logistic regression employed in this study is multivariate logistic regression (see Gray, 1994: 163-169). In this method, an ordinal variable is treated as a categorical variable. The last sub-category of either the ordinal or categorical variable was treated as the reference category. Nevertheless, the estimate parameter of the omitted sub-category can be obtained. The value of the estimate parameter of the omitted sub-category is minus the total of the parameter estimates of the sub-categories of the respective variable (Gray, 1994:165; Norusis, 1992:13).

Logistic equations are of the form:

$$\ln (p/ (1-p)) = b\,o + b\,1*X. \quad \text{(equation (1))}.$$

where p is the probability that - in this case the individual will participate in the labour-force.
b *o* is the intercept term, b1 is the change in the log odds for a unit change in variable X, controlling for other variables.

Based on the log odds of a particular variable obtained by equation (1), we could obtain the probability by entering the log odds into the following equation.

$$\text{Probability} = \frac{\exp.\ (\text{log odds})}{1 + \exp.\ (\text{log odds})}$$ (Gray, 1994:169)

In regard to the dummy variables, however, the equations could only produce the probabilities of those that were coded (1), that were categories that were not included in the reference category. To obtain the probability of each category of the reference category (that was coded 0), the category was switched to 1, *ceteris paribus.*

To assess the magnitude of the fraction explained by the independent variable included in the model, we could subtract the likelihood ratio chi-square (or -2 log likelihood) of the initial model by the likelihood ratio chi-square in which the independent variable under study was included in the model. Later, this value, called 'improvement', informs us about the worthiness of the change caused by the effect of independent variable under study.

1. 13.3. Multinomial logit

Job-seeking behaviour shows that an individual has a chance to be employed and not searching for a job (ENS), employed but searching for job (ES), unemployed searching for job (US) and out of the labour-force (OLF). In this regard, the dependent variable, job-seeking behaviour, is neither continuous (when multiple regression is usually employed) nor dummy (when logistic regression is usually employed). The appropriate technique to analyze job-seeking behaviour is the multinomial logit method (Amemiya, 1985; Judge, Griffiths, Hill and Lee, 1980: section 14.4; Fergus, 1992: 82-85).

The individual's chance of being in the ES, ENS, or OLF categories is estimated as follows;

$$\log_e (P_{es} / P_{us}) = \alpha_{es} Xi + e_{es} \quad (1)$$

$$\log_e (P_{ens} / P_{us}) = \alpha_{ens} Xi + e_{ens} \quad (2)$$

$$\log_e (P_{olf} / P_{us}) = \alpha_{olf} Xi + e_{olf} \quad (3)$$

In those equations 'unemployed search (US) ' is used as the reference category.
In equation (1) the dependent variable is equal 1 if the person was ES, equal 0 if the person was US.
In equation (2) the dependent variable is equal 1 if she or he was ENS, equal 0 if she or he was US.
In equation (3) the dependent variable is equal 1 if she or he was OLF, equal 0 if she or he was US.

Xi = independent variables included in the equations, consists of individual characteristics, parental and socio-environmental background, and educational attainment.

The probability of an individual of being ENS, ES, US and OLF, is obtained by applying the estimated parameters in the equation (1), (2) and (3) into the following equations (Fergus, 1992:85).

$$P(US) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{Xi\,\alpha_{es}} + e^{Xi\,\alpha_{ens}} + e^{Xi\,\alpha_{olf}}} \quad (4)$$

$$P(ES) = \frac{e^{Xi\,\alpha_{es}}}{1 + e^{Xi\,\alpha_{es}} + e^{Xi\,\alpha_{ens}} + e^{Xi\,\alpha_{olf}}} \quad (5)$$

$$P(ENS) = \frac{e^{Xi\,\alpha_{ens}}}{1 + e^{Xi\,\alpha_{es}} + e^{Xi\,\alpha_{ens}} + e^{Xi\,\alpha_{olf}}} \quad (6)$$

$$P(OLF) = \frac{e^{Xi\,\alpha_{olf}}}{1 + e^{Xi\,\alpha_{es}} + e^{Xi\,\alpha_{ens}} + e^{Xi\,\alpha_{olf}}} \quad (7)$$

The parameter estimates of α_{es}, α_{ens}, and α_{olf} (see Appendix 5.1) were based on equations (1), (2) and (3).

As in the case of logistic regression, the equations, however, could only produce the probabilities of those that were coded (1), that were categories that were not included in the reference category. To obtain the probability of each category of the reference category (that was coded 0), the category needs to be switched to 1, *ceteris paribus*. The results are shown in Table 5.1.

CHAPTER 2
EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT TRENDS DURING 1980-1990

2.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to explore the background of the transition problem, which mainly consists of the interrelation of demographic, educational and socio-economic factors.

Those three aspects are manifested in the growing number of new entrants in the labour force, the rapid increase in educational level of the labour force and the increase in the non-agricultural sectors. These demographic, educational and economic developments are interrelated in complex and not fully understood ways (Cobbe and Boediono, 1993:2).

The demographic dynamic was marked by the decline in fertility and mortality since the 1970s; however, cohorts born during the high fertility regime of the 1950s and 1960s, were successively entering the labour force in the 1970s and 1980s. At the same time, as a result of acceleration in educational programs since the 1970s and the early decline in the growth rate of school-age pupils of the younger cohort, the growth rate in enrolment in higher education institutions was higher than in lower education institutions. The combined effect of the demographic and educational factors was a rapid increase in new entrants in the labour force with better education qualification. Overall, the cohort entering the labour force was much better educated than the previous cohort. The third factor, the growth of non-agricultural sectors, especially wage employment in the manufacturing and services sectors, offers these new entrants with better education vertical mobility tracks. However, mobility to a better occupation is

difficult to achieve because of unbalanced growth between educated job seekers and suitable job opportunities for them.

The problem of the transition from school to work, therefore, can be seen as a symptom of three kinds of structural problems which are interrelated. The transition from school to work is becoming more difficult because the problem lies, not only at an individual level, but also at a structural level. The more difficult the transition from school to work, the greater is likely to be the involvement of social and class relations in establishing job-seekers in work. Therefore it is not surprising if in developing countries, as mentioned by Simmons (1980:37), political and familial criteria are often used to screen job seekers; this creates difficulties in the market mechanism to reduce unemployment.

2.2 Educational policy: quantity first

In most developing countries, since Independence, the education system has become a battle ground for different political interests; however the system has apparently worked based on the following common assumptions (Clignet, 1980:165). First, to remedy the shortage of leadership, managerial and other high-level of manpower to develop the economy, mass education is required. Secondly, mass education will change the feudalistic attitude of the society into meritocratic attitudes, which encourage individual achievement. Thirdly, through mass education the widespread inequality can be narrowed. This optimism toward the effects of the education system on national development has resulted in a substantial proportion of the national budget being devoted to education, resulting in the rapid growth of the educated labour force.

Similar assumptions have also been adopted in Indonesia. Under the Sukarno government, however, the education system was the locus of fierce competition between religious education and secular education and between general and vocational education. Under the New Order government since 1966, which is more pragmatic in its approach, the ideological issues have been relatively dormant for some time, but the issue then shifted to another front: whether the education system's main function is to serve industry. Not only did the issue originate from one of the main policies of the New Order government to give priority to economic growth, but the issue has increased in importance since the Pelita II (The Second Five Year Development Plan, 1973-78) owing to the increase in urbanization. While this educational policy debate continues, nevertheless, there was an agreement that children needed more access to all levels of education. Supported by the government's success in economic development, resulting from the 'oil boom' in the 1970s in particular, this need has been realized in the rapid growth of educational institutions at all levels, but without substantial change in the character of the curriculum, which continued to emphasize humanities and arts. The educational policy seems to be one of 'quantity first'. In recent years the issue of the 'quality' or the relevance of education to development needs has been given more emphasis, mainly because of the growing number of unemployed among educated people (Santoso[1], 1993; Drost, 1993; and Buchory, 1993).

The 'quantity first' policy has resulted in the rapid growth of educational institutions, especially at higher education levels. Rapid growth of higher education institutions is occurring initially as a response to high demand from the society as well as from the government, because investment in higher education

[1] Former head of the Committee for National Education Reform

has been seen as profitable for individuals and on the other hand, the government had assumed that economic growth could not be achieved without a sufficient high-level manpower. Private institutions of higher education have also multiplied because this has been seen as a lucrative business. However, in the current situation, the rapid growth of higher education institutions seems to be caused by a new situation in which the increasing number of job seekers with more education is inducing employers to increase the level of education qualification as part of the entry criteria, thus forcing parents and children to attain a higher educational qualification to effectively realize their high occupational expectations.

One of the results has been the rapid increase in the number of school pupils at all levels of education. In Jakarta, Central and East Java provinces, the education attainment of the urban youth has also increased markedly. Table 2.1 shows that in the 1980-1990 period, there has been a decrease in the proportion of young people with primary educational qualifications and below, and on the other hand a sharp increase in the proportion of young people with secondary and higher education qualifications.

Table 2.1.
Percentage distribution of highest educational attainment of urban youth 15 to 29 years by province, 1980 and 1990.

Province	Educational Attainment							
	Below Primary	Primary	Junior secondary	Senior secondary	Academy	University	Total %	N (000)
Jakarta								
1980	26.8	31.7	20.7	19.2	1.1	0.4	100	2055
1990	10.7	27.1	27.2	30.8	2.2	1.9	100	2971
Central Java								
1980	31.0	31.7	21.8	14.5	0.6	0.3	100	1415
1990	14.7	31.1	26.8	24.5	1.7	1.3	100	2273
East Java								
1980	29.4	32.9	21.8	15.1	0.6	0.3	100	1768
1990	12.2	27.9	27.7	28.8	1.4	2.1	100	2883
Indonesia								
1980	27.4	32.5	22.4	16.5	0.8	0.4	100	10424
1990	12.2	27.3	28.0	28.9	1.7	1.6	100	18184

Source: 1980 and 1990 Censuses, calculated by PPT-LIPI, 1993, cited in Noveria, 1994:77-8.

This increase in the quantity of education, however, apparently is not primarily responding to the employment opportunities arising in a growing economy. The government manpower policy tends to be biased or unbalanced as a result of limited resources or as a result of political pressures. Some of the political pressures are, first, those that emphasize religious and state ideology education, which may produce graduates that are not matched with the demand for labour in the economy. Secondly, for the interests of the middle class in the country the government may also be forced to continue to subsidize higher education where most of the middle-class children can enroll. Thirdly, political objectives of regional equity in educational facilities and standard national curricula may push them into locating too many schools in the regions with curricula which lack relevance to the local economic needs. This will result in a supply of graduates which could not match the quality and the quantity of labour demand in the economy. In Indonesia as a whole as well as in the three provinces, the educational system therefore tends to be structurally biased toward a certain type of education which in turn creates a surplus of educated labour with a certain type of educational qualification, and shortage of labour with other types of educational qualification.

One of the results of the educational content, which places stress on general and humanity education, is that in these three provinces, as well as in Indonesia, there is a cultural bias in job preference towards the clerical or 'soft' jobs, that mostly are in urban areas (interview with Bappedda official, 1991; Sudomo cited in *Kompas*, 1987:1). Therefore the 'style and orientation' of educational policy, which has significant effects on the growth of young people

in urban areas in particular, is partly responsible for job expectations among educated people.

2.3 Young people in the labour force

There are at least three demographic factors which are affecting the work transition problem of youth in Java as a whole and in the three provinces in particular, first the rapidly growing number of young people in urban areas of Java; secondly, the increase in the female labour force; and thirdly, migration to urban areas of Java from rural Java as well as from outside Java.

Indonesia, since the 1970s, has been experiencing a demographic transition in which the decline in mortality and fertility has significantly affected the growth of its population. The effect of the baby-boom of the 1950s and 1960s was clear when that cohort was entering the labour force in the 1970s and 1980s (Ministry of Manpower, Indonesia, 1993:35; Cobbe and Boediono, 1993:3-6; Jones, 1993:229).The decline in fertility has affected the labour force through a slowdown of new entrants in the 1990s, although a major reduction in the rate of increase of the labour force will not occur until the turn of the century (Bauer, 1990:616).

It is very common during the urbanization process for those to be a great increase in young people, young labour force and young job seekers in urban areas than in rural areas. In the three provinces, as indicated in Table 2.2 below, from 1980 to 1990, the increases were above the national average. The increase in young people as well as the growth of the young labour force and young job seekers in the three provinces of Java seem to be smaller than the growth rate of their counterparts outside Java. Nevertheless, the youth problem in Java is likely to be exacerbated by a growing concentration of youth in Java. During the 1980-

1990 period, the absolute number of youth in Java has increased and its proportion increased from 50 to 52 per cent of the total Indonesian youth (Noveria cited in Tirtosudarmo et al., 1995:25).

These high increases in urban areas result both from the reclassification of some villages from rural in 1980 to urban in 1990, and from migration of young people from rural to urban areas In general, the in-migration flow to Java during 1980-90 was smaller than the out-migration flow; however, the in-migration flow to urban areas of Java in particular was considerably higher than the out-migration flow (Ministry of Manpower, 1993:46). This flow has contributed to the increase in the proportion of youth in urban areas of the three provinces. During the 1980 to 1990 period, the proportion of young people increased from 33. to 36 per cent in Jakarta, and from 31 to 32 in urban areas of East Java, while in urban areas of Central Java the proportion was almost constant, 29 per cent (Noveria,1994:72).

The rural to urban migration stream is continuing and is bringing about rapid growth of the urban population. Firman (1992:99, 104) found that during 1980-1990, the proportion living in urban areas of Java grew by 10.4 percentage points, from 25.2 to 35.6 per cent; 21 out of 25 *kabupatens* or municipalities were growing very fast (above 10 per cent). The three cities chosen as study areas in this thesis, Jakarta, Semarang and Surabaya, are major gateways of the fast-growing corridor along the north coast, and each of them links some major cities of the hinterland.

Table 2.2
Numbers and growth of young people, young labour force and young job seekers 15 to 29 years in urban areas by province and sex, 1980-1990.

Province And sex	Youth 15-29 1980 (000)	Youth 15-29 1990 (000)	Growth per year (%)	Labour force 1980 (000)	Labour force 1990 (000)	Growth per year (%)	Job seekers 1980 (000)	Job seekers 1990 (000)	Growth per year (%)
Jakarta									
Males	1010	1429	3.4	617	936	4.1	43	117	9.9
Females	1046	1542	3.9	294	618	7.4	19	78	14.3
Central Java									
Males	689	1094	4.6	42	674	5.2	18	74	14.1
Females	726	1180	4.8	262	508	6.6	10	54	16.6
East Java									
Males	842	1369	4.8	491	839	5.3	21	88	14.0
Females	926	1514	4.9	291	593	7.1	12	65	17.2
Indonesia									
Males	5154	8830	5.3	2901	5335	6.1	149	614	14.1
Females	5270	9353	5.7	1340	3335	9.1	69	433	18.3
Indonesia	39628	50679	2.4	20316	28244	3.2	574	1833	11.6

Source: Calculated from Censuses 1980 and 1990 by PPT-LIPI, 1993, cited in Noveria, 1994:83-4.
Note: Higher growth of youth, young labour force and young job seekers in urban areas were partly caused by the change in the designation of many formerly rural localities to urban in the 1990 census.

The increase in number of young people was accompanied by an increase in the labour-force participation rate between 1980 and 1990. Table 2. 3 shows that the labour-force participation rate of young urban people in the three provinces was considerably higher than the national level. The increase in the labour force among young urban people was mainly due to the rise in female labour-force participation which increased by around 7 percentage points, from around 31 per cent to 40 per cent in Jakarta, 36 to 43 per cent in Central Java and from 31 to 39 per cent in East Java. At the national level, the increase in the labour-force participation of females during this period was even higher, at 9.3 per cent, but the participation rate remained lower than the rates in the three provinces: only 26 per cent in 1980 and 36 per cent in 1990.

As shown in Table 2.3, the rise in labour-force participation among males is mainly caused by those 'looking for work', in the case of females, it is caused by the increase in the percentage of both 'working' and 'looking for work' categories.

Table 2. 3
Percentage distribution of main activities during the previous week of urban youth 15 to 29 years by sex and province, 1980-1990.

	Working	Looking for work	Schooling	House keeping	Others	Total	LFPR[a]	LFPR of Pop. 10-65+
Males								
Jakarta 1980	56.9	4.3	26.3	0.5	12.1	100	61.2	62.3
1990	57.3	8.2	26.8	0.3	7.4	100	65.5	66.9
Cent Java '80	55.9	2.6	30.1	0.9	10.5	100	58.5	60.2
1990	54.8	6.8	29.1	1.3	8.0	100	61.6	64.4
East Java '80	55.9	2.6	30.2	1.1	10.3	100	58.4	61.1
1990	54.9	6.4	30.4	1.0	7.3	100	61.3	65.7
Indonesia '80	53.5	2.9	30.9	0.9	11.8	100	56.5	58.3
1990	53.5	6.9	30.3	0.8	8.5	100	60.5	64.0
Females								
Jakarta 1980	26.3	1.8	17.1	45.6	9.1	100	31.4	23.7
1990	35.0	5.1	21.4	33.2	5.3	100	40.1	30.6
Cent Java '80	34.7	1.4	19.8	35.9	8.1	100	36.1	35.2
1990	38.5	4.6	21.7	29.6	5.7	100	43.1	40.3
East Java '80	30.3	1.3	18.9	41.1	8.5	100	31.5	30.2
1990	34.9	4.3	23.7	31.8	5.3	100	39.2	36.3
Indonesia'80	24.2	1.3	20.7	44.6	9.2	100	26.0	24.1
1990	31.0	4.6	24.0	34.4	6.0	100	35.7	31.6

Source: 1980 and 1990 Censuses, calculated by PPT-LIPI, 1993, cited in Noveria,1994: 83-85.
[a] Labour-force participation rate.
LFPR of population aged 10 - 65 +, calculated from BPS, 1992a: 62-63; 1992b: 91-92; 1992c: 91-92; 1983a: 111-12; 1983b:.93-94; 1983c: 93-93.

The increase in labour-force participation among youth, however, is parallel with the increase in the participation of the working-age population in general (10 years and above). This means that young people have to compete with their seniors in the labour market. Since unemployment is unequally distributed over the labour force, and young people are usually more affected by unemployment than adults (Jallade, 1987:166), one of the effects is a growing number of young people who are unemployed or looking for work. From 1980 to 1990, in urban areas of the three provinces for example, job seekers aged 15 to 29 years contributed from around 70 per cent (1980) to around 80 per cent (1990) of the total job seekers (see Table 2. 4).

Table 2. 4
Percentage distribution of urban job seekers by age group and province, 1980 and 1990

	Jakarta		Central Java		East Java	
Age Group	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
10-14	2.6	2.9	2.9	5.9	2.4	2.9
15-19	27.1	23.9	25.9	29.5	22.1	24.7
20-24	43.2	44.8	36.4	38.8	38.9	41.9
25-29	13.4	17.7	12.7	14.1	13.3	17.0
30-34	4.5	5.1	5.3	4.7	4.7	5.1
35-39	2.6	2.3	3.9	1.9	4.2	1.9
40+	6.4	3.3	12.9	5.1	14.4	6.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1983a:125; 1983b: 125; 1983c:125; 1992a:.95; 1992b: 95; 1992c: 95.

2.4 Labour supply with different levels of education

The combined effect of both the growing number of young people and the success of mass education is a growing number of young educated people especially in urban areas. This in turn has an effect on the supply of labour. There is an improvement in the educational quality of the labour force, an increase in females' participation in the labour force and an increase in the proportion of educated migrants in urban areas. In the three provinces, in 1980, the proportion of young people who had lower secondary education qualifications and above ranged from 36 per cent in Central Java to 42 per cent in Jakarta, but ten years later, young people who had the same qualification were 54 per cent in Central Java and 63 per cent in Jakarta, with East Java in between (see Table 2.1).

Table 2. 5
Labour-force participation rates by educational attainment, region and sex, 1980-1990 (%).

Region	Males 1980	Males 1990	Females 1980	Females 1990
Jakarta				
< Primary	49.8	45.9	22.5	23.1
Primary school	62.9	64.1	19.0	28.3
Junior high	61.0	60.5	15.9	21.7
Senior high	78.0	81.5	36.9	44.0
Tertiary	90.1	92.8	65.3	71.3
Central Java				
< Primary	57.1	56.8	38.2	39.3
Primary school	60.8	65.3	28.8	39.0
Junior high	54.6	57.3	23.1	29.1
Senior high	74.5	77.4	47.0	53.5
Tertiary	89.9	92.4	67.5	78.3
East Java				
< primary	56.8	56.7	33.2	35.0
Primary school	62.6	65.9	24.2	35.2
Junior high	56.5	58.9	17.9	26.6
Senior high	73.1	76.9	43.4	45.9
Tertiary	88.9	91.5	63.7	73.9

Source: BPS 1983a:124-25; 1983b:123-24; 1983c:123-24;
BPS 1992a: 74-75; 1992b:109-110; 1992c: 109-110.

Another effect of better educational attainment is rural to urban migration among educated people (Sabot, 1987:197). Several efforts to counter the rural-urban migration stream in Indonesia appear to have been unsuccessful. Government schemes such as *TKS-Butsi* recruited graduates from higher education to volunteer to be sent to rural areas. The recruitment was quite successful, but it was very rare for the graduates to remain in rural areas. The scheme, which was started in the mid-1970s, was terminated in 1986 (Bappedda Jawa Tengah, 1990:65).

Another effect of the rapid growth of educated young people is the increase in job seekers with higher education qualifications, particularly in urban areas. This situation is also reflected in Table 2.6. During 1980-1990, the composition of job seekers changed dramatically. In 1980, in East Java for example, job seekers with senior secondary qualifications and above were only about 32 per cent, but ten years later, they made up more than 56 per cent.

Table 2. 6
Percentage distribution of urban job seekers by highest education attainment and provinces, 1980 and 1990.

	Jakarta		Central Java		East Java	
Education	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
<Primary	22.4	8.3	28.2	11.4	26.5	9.4
Primary	26.2	17.5	27.9	24.6	23.8	16.9
Junior S	17.4	32.3	13.9	17.2	17.2	17.4
Senior S	31.6	34.8	28.0	40.2	30.6	47.9
University	2.3	7.1	1.9	6.6	1.9	8.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	73643	225728	37208	155556	43657	182879

Source: Source: BPS 1983a:124-25; 1983b:123-24; 1983c:123-24;
BPS 1992a: 74-75; 1992b:109-110; 1992c: 109-110.

The above explanation implies that there is a process of concentration of young and more educated people into urban areas. The underlying factors are the dynamics of education and the dynamics of the labour force which then contribute to the problem of work transition among young people. However, the above factors are clearly only part of the causes of the work transition problem. The cause is apparently not merely in the supply side, but also on the demand side that is reflected in the structural change of the economy.

2.5 The structure of employment during 1980-1990

The shift of the Indonesian labour force from agricultural to non-agricultural sectors seems to have two causes (Boediono, 1994:28). First, along the lines of Engels's law, there was a lower elasticity of demand for agricultural products compared with non-agricultural products. This means that the growth of the demand for agricultural output is slower than for non-agricultural products. Second, the improvement in education, capital per worker and agricultural technology in the agricultural sector discourage additional labour from entering the agricultural sector which then pushes them to enter the manufacturing and service sectors or agribusiness sectors. The speed of the transition may have increased since the introduction of new economic policies in the late 1980s,

which began to deregulate foreign investment to promote non-oil industries, primarily in the manufacturing sectors (Ministry of Manpower, 1993:5, 17). The combined effect of those two aspects are the strengthening of the non-agricultural sectors, contributing to the brain drain of young educated people to urban areas.

The transition has reduced the proportion of labour who were engaged in agriculture. In Indonesia, during the 1980 to 1990 period, the proportion of labour in agriculture dropped from 55.9 to 49.2 per cent, from 57.2 to 50.5 per cent for males and 54.0 to 49.2 per cent for females. The absolute numbers, however, were increasing from 28.8 million to 35.5 million (Ministry of Manpower, 1993:73, 76).

The same pattern also occurred in the three provinces as seen in Table 2.7. The major shift to manufacturing and minor shift to services sectors in the two provinces corresponded with the reduction in the proportion of agricultural labour. Meanwhile, in Jakarta the shift was mainly due to a reduction in the share of the services sectors, because Jakarta is predominantly an urban area with little agricultural employment. In the two provinces outside Jakarta, the proportion of agriculture was declining during 1980-90 from 54 to 48 per cent in Central Java and 57 to 50 per cent in East Java; this was offset by a 4 per cent increase in the manufacturing and a 3 per cent increase in the service sectors in each province. In Jakarta, the increase in manufacturing was around 6 per cent, which was accompanied by a decrease in the services sector by 3 per cent. In Central and East Java, the shift to manufacturing was experienced by primary and secondary graduates, while in Jakarta it was primarily among secondary graduates and those with higher education qualifications. In Jakarta, the shift to manufacturing was

accompanied by a great decrease (15 per cent) in the proportion of employees with university qualifications in the service sector.

Table 2.7
Percentage distribution of sectoral employment of population 10 years and over by highest educational attainment and province, 1980 and 1990.

	1980					1990				
	Sectors of employment					Sectors of employment				
Region / education	A	M	S	Not stated	Total	A	M	S	Not stated	Total
Jakarta										
No school	7.2	13.9	78.1	0.7	100	5.1	15.1	79.3	0.5	100
<Primary	2.7	24.3	71.9	0.9	100	2.3	25.0	72.1	0.7	100
Primary	1.2	24.9	73.0	0.8	100	1.0	29.8	68.8	0.4	100
Junior S	0.5	23.3	75.1	0.9	100	0.6	33.3	65.7	0.4	100
Senior S	0.3	23.9	74.8	0.8	100	2.9	28.6	68.1	0.4	100
Academy	0.5	17.9	80.9	0.6	100	0.5	20.8	73.7	0.4	100
University	0.4	18.6	80.0	0.9	100	0.7	23.4	64.6	0.5	100
Total	1.9	22.7	74.4	0.8	100	0.1	28.1	71.4	0.4	100
Central Java										
No school	63.1	13.6	22.7	0.6	100	63.7	13.7	21.9	0.7	100
< Primary	59.2	16.7	23.4	0.7	100	56.0	18.8	24.3	0.9	100
Primary	46.6	18.4	34.4	0.6	100	47.8	22.3	29.1	0.8	100
Junior S	20.6	17.9	60.7	0.8	100	24.0	26.0	48.9	1.1	100
Senior S	5.9	12.3	78.4	3.4	100	10.1	19.2	69.7	1.0	100
Academy	4.9	10.4	83.5	1.3	100	3.2	9.5	86.2	1.1	100
University	2.9	9.0	86.9	1.2	100	3.7	10.3	84.8	1.2	100
Total	54.2	15.9	29.3	0.7	100	47.8	19.4	31.9	0.9	100
East Java										
No School	67.4	9.1	23.1	0.4	100	66.8	10.3	22.1	0.8	100
< Primary	60.7	13.5	25.3	0.4	100	58.3	15.0	22.3	0.4	100
Primary	48.0	16.2	35.1	0.7	100	49.5	19.0	30.6	0.9	100
Junior S	17.9	18.5	63.0	0.6	100	25.6	25.8	48.4	0.3	100
Senior S	9.3	12.0	77.7	0.5	100	11.1	21.6	66.0	1.2	100
Academy	5.1	11.3	83.1	0.7	100	3.2	9.6	85.2	2.0	100
University	5.0	11.0	83.4	0.6	100	4.6	12.5	81.3	1.5	100
Total	56.5	12.6	30.3	0.6	100	50.0	16.4	32.7	0.8	100

Source: Biro Pusat Statistik, 1983a:139; 1983b:139; 1983c: 139; 1992a:144; 1992b:144; 1992c:144.
Note: A = agriculture, including livestock, forestry and fishery. M= manufacturing, including mining & quarrying, electricity, gas and water supply and construction. S= Services, including trade, hotel and restaurant, transport and communication, banking and finance, public administration and defense.

The shift to manufacturing has also affected the allocation of young urban workers (Table 2.8). The shift was mainly from services sectors. Junior secondary graduates were among those who were most affected by the shift, in which in 1980, in Jakarta for example, among worker with junior secondary qualification only 28 per cent were engaged in manufacturing, but ten years later, the proportion jumped to 41 per cent. In Java as a whole, the proportion jumped from 32 per cent to 48 per cent. Not only did junior secondary graduates except academy qualification moved from services sectors into manufacturing sectors; so too did senior high school and higher education graduates.

Table 2.8
Percentage distribution of employment of urban youth 15-29 years by sectors and highest educational attainment, Jakarta and Java, 1980 and 1990.

	1980						1990					
	Sectors of employment						Sectors of employment					
Region & education	A	M	S	N.s	To-tal	N (000)	A	M	S	N.s	Total	N (000)
Jakarta												
No school	2.5	17.5	78.8	1.1	100	48	1.6	21.6	76.4	0.3	100	22
< Primary	1.0	27.4	70.6	1.0	100	205	1.5	29.0	69.1	0.4	100	143
Primary	0.7	27.9	70.5	0.9	100	251	0.8	34.4	64.5	0.3	100	399
Junior S	0.4	28.5	70.0	1.1	100	121	0.6	41.0	57.9	0.5	100	239
Senior S	0.3	26.7	72.1	0.9	100	199	0.4	32.5	66.7	0.5	100	467
Academy	0.5	18.1	81.1	0.2	100	17	0.5	21.1	77.9	0.5	100	46
University	0.3	20.5	77.5	1.7	100	8	0.6	23.7	75.0	0.7	100	42
Java minus Jakarta												
No school	19.9	23.3	55.9	0.9	100	157	22.4	28.6	47.8	1.1	100	87
< Primary	12.9	30.8	55.5	0.8	100	612	13.7	34.8	50.4	1.1	100	544
Primary	6.6	32.5	59.9	1.0	100	672	7.9	39.7	51.6	0.8	100	1384
Junior S.	3.2	32.0	64.0	0.8	100	295	5.2	47.7	45.5	1.6	100	709
Senior S.	2.1	22.2	74.7	1.0	100	359	2.7	34.2	61.8	1.3	100	1210
Academy	2.0	16.2	80.4	1.4	100	19	0.9	15.3	82.2	1.7	100	97
University	1.9	13.5	83.8	0.9	100	12	1.9	14.5	82.1	1.5	100	110

Source: 1980 and 1990 Censuses, calculated by PPT-LIPI, 1993, cited in Daliyo, 1994: 184..
Note: N.s =not stated.

The majority of educated people in Indonesia are employed in the service sector, in the public service in particular. According to Simanjuntak (1984:17), this was due to structural wage bias as well as cultural bias. Therefore, it is still possible to interpret the shift from services to manufacturing sectors for higher education qualification, a sign of push factors caused by excess supply of labour rather than the pull of the manufacturing sectors. In Jakarta during 1980- 1990, the numbers in the workforce grew as follows: university graduates by 448 per cent, those with academy qualification by 169 per cent and those with senior secondary qualification by 134 per cent (Table 2.9). The increase in workers with university qualifications in Java was even higher than in Jakarta; more than 850 per cent in 10 years. This high absorptive capacity of the economy, however, does not necessary mean putting the educated people into preferable or suitable jobs, but, on the contrary, as indicated in Table 2.13, there are signs of a 'putting down' of particular educated people into lower occupations.

Table 2. 9
Percentage distribution and change in number of urban young workers 15-29 years by highest educational attainment, Jakarta and Java, 1980-1990.

Region and education	Workers 1980 (000)	% distribution	Workers 1990 (000)	% distribution	Change 1980-1990 (000)	Change 1980-1990 (%)
Jakarta						
No school	48	5.6	22	1.6	-25.1	-52.8
< Primary	205	24.1	143	10.5	-61.9	-30.1
Primary	251	29.6	399	29.3	+147.7	+58.8
Junior S	122	14.3	239	17.6	+117.3	+96.5
Senior S	199	23.4	467	34.4	+267.4	+134.2
Academy	17	2.0	46	3.4	+29.1	+169.2
University	8	0.8	42	3.0	+34.1	+448.7
Total	849	100	1358	100	+508.6	+59.9
Java (minus Jakarta)						
No school	157	7.3	87	2.0	-70	-44.6
< Primary	611	28.8	544	13.1	-67.7	-11.1
Primary	672	31.6	1384	33.4	+712.1	+105.9
Junior S	295	13.9	709	17.1	+414	+140.2
Senior S	359	16.9	1211	29.2	+851.8	+237.5
Academy	20	0.9	97	2.3	+77.6	+395.9
University	12	0.6	110	2.6	+98.1	+853.0
Total	2126	100	4141	100	+2015.9	+94.8

Source: Calculated from Table 2.8.

Table 2.10
Employment status of urban youth 15-29 years by highest educational attainment, Jakarta and Java, 1980 and 1990.

Region & education	1980						1990					
	Self em-plo-yed	Em-plo-yers	Em plo-yees	Fa-mily wor-kers	Not Sta-ted	To-tal	Self em-plo-yed	Em-plo-yers	Em-plo-yees	Fa-mily wor-kers	Not Sta-ted	To-tal
Jakarta												
No school	24.1	1.0	67.4	6.9	0.6	100	25.3	0.8	68.1	5.4	0.4	100
< Primary	24.8	1.9	66.2	6.5	0.6	100	23.9	0.9	69.8	5.0	0.4	100
Primary	25.1	2.2	66.3	5.8	0.6	100	19.5	0.9	74.6	4.7	0.3	100
Junior S.	18.0	2.0	73.4	6.0	0.6	100	16.3	1.0	77.7	4.5	0.4	100
Senior S	7.2	2.0	88.2	1.8	0.8	100	9.2	0.9	87.2	2.4	0.3	100
Academy	3.1	2.4	93.5	0.6	0.4	100	4.0	1.3	93.9	0.6	0.2	100
Univ.	3.2	3.2	92.2	1.2	0.3	100	4.9	1.8	92.2	0.8	0.3	100
Total	19.1	2.0	73.3	5.0	0.7	100	15.0	1.0	80.0	3.6	0.3	100
Java minus Jkt												
No school	34.9	3.5	47.5	13.3	0.8	100	34.0	1.6	54.6	9.4	0.3	100
<Primary	28.9	3.5	52.4	15.2	0.8	100	30.6	1.4	59.3	8.7	0.2	100
Primary	30.1	3.8	55.3	10.8	0.9	100	24.1	1.3	65.2	9.5	0.2	100
Junior S.	22.2	3.1	64.7	10.0	0.9	100	18.8	1.4	69.0	10.8	0.3	100
Senior S	9.0	2.5	84.1	4.4	0.9	100	11.6	1.4	80.9	6.1	0.3	100
Academy	7.5	2.2	87.4	2.9	0.8	100	7.8	1.8	88.0	2.4	0.2	100
Univ.	9.2	2.3	86.8	1.7	1.4	100	9.0	2.3	85.1	3.6	0.4	100
Total	25.1	3.4	60.5	11.0	0.9	100	19.9	1.4	70.4	8.3	0.3	100

Source: 1980 and 1990 Censuses, calculated by PPT-LIPI, 1993, cited in Daliyo, 1994:190-1.

Another possible effect is that, as shown in Table 2.10, secondary graduates and above who were self-employed were increasing, while in general self-employment decreased by 4 per cent in Jakarta and 5 per cent in Java. The increase in the manufacturing sectors may not necessarily need a high level of skills, therefore young people with high educational qualifications may not be attracted or absorbed and may have been 'forced' to employ themselves.

2.6. Unemployment, educated unemployment and youth unemployment

The combined effect of excess supply of young people, young educated people in particular and limited job opportunities for them – usually in the service sectors – as explained above, is the increased rate of unemployment among educated people.

As a result of high fertility in the 1960s and 1970s and improvement in education since the early 1970s, new entrants in the labour force are not only more numerous than those retiring but are also more educated. Consequently, most of the unemployed people are young people, mainly school leavers, who are looking for work for the first time. Young secondary school leavers are among those who suffer most from unemployment. In Indonesia, according to Jones (1993:230), although in the 1990s the problem of 'quantity' of the labour force resulting from its growth will be level-off, the rapidly growing numbers of educated workers in particular will likely to exacerbate the labour market.

So, in this regard, although the unemployment level for educated people is likely to be lower than for uneducated people, the situation is reversed if the 'scarcity' of educated people disappears (Blaug, 1973:29). In 1980, in Indonesia, the proportion of unemployed people with junior secondary school qualification and above was only 24 per cent, but ten years later they made up more than 57 per cent of the unemployed. The biggest increase in the contribution to unemployment

was among senior secondary graduates, who initially contributed 14 per cent but later 36 per cent of all unemployment (Cobbe and Boediono, 1992:195).

In the three provinces, the same trend was also occurring (see Table 2.11). The unemployment rate of educated people, at least up to secondary high school, is higher than that of less educated people. Females with higher educational qualifications tend to have higher unemployment rates than males.

Table 2. 11
Unemployment rate by sex and highest educational attainment, urban areas of Jakarta, East and Central Java, 1980 and 1990 (%)

	Males		Females	
Region/ education	1980	1990	1980	1990
Jakarta				
<Primary	3.1	4.1	2.1	3.4
Primary	3.6	4.1	5.4	6.0
Junior high	4.1	6.2	8.2	11.1
Senior high	5.0	9.3	7.0	15.5
>Senior high	1.2	4.7	3.4	7.3
Central Java				
<Primary	1.4	1.8	1.1	1.5
Primary	2.5	3.9	2.8	4.7
Junior high	2.5	5.8	3.7	8.3
Senior high	4.5	9.2	5.6	12.1
>Senior high	1.3	6.3	4.6	9.8
East Java				
<Primary	1.3	1.6	1.2	1.8
Primary	1.9	2.6	2.6	3.7
Junior high	2.8	5.3	4.9	7.8
Senior high	4.4	8.9	6.3	14.1
>Senior high	1.4	6.1	3.9	10.9

Source: Source: BPS 1983a:124-25; 1983b:123-24; 1983c:123-24; BPS 1992a: 74-75; 1992b:109-110; 1992c: 109-110.
Note: Employed is defined as 'at least working one hour within the last week' (Pasay, 1989:1)

2.7 Improvement in educational qualification of labour and the 'push-down' effect on occupation

One of the effects of the high unemployment rate among people with high level of education is 'the push-down effect on occupation', that is the increase in number of job seekers who accept jobs that are usually done by people who have lower levels of education. The effect was also clear among young people in Jakarta and Java provinces as a whole. Let us use the dichotomy of office or

'white-collar workers' (professional, managerial and clerical workers) and non-office or 'blue-collar workers' (sales, services, and production workers) in which the former is likely to have higher status than the latter. During the period 1980-1990, in those provinces, although the proportion of all white-collar workers was as increasing, the proportion of white-collar workers with secondary school and university qualifications was decreasing (see Table 2.12). The opposite was occurring in the Outer Islands, where there was an increase in the proportion of those with secondary education who were white-collar workers (Daliyo, 1994:187).

Table 2. 12
Percentage distribution of main occupation of urban youth 15-29 years by highest educational attainment, Jakarta and Java, 1980 and 1990.

	1980					1990				
	White collar	Blue collar	Not stated	Total	N (000)	White collar	Blue collar	Not stated	Total	N (000)
Jakarta										
No school	1.2	97.3	1.6	100	47	1.9	97.8	0.3	100	22
<Primary	2.1	96.4	1.5	100	205	3.3	96.4	0.3	100	143
Primary	4.8	93.7	1.5	100	251	4.1	95.6	0.2	100	399
Junior S	18.2	78.8	3.0	100	22	10.6	89.0	0.4	100	239
Senior S	53.1	44.4	2.6	100	199	39.6	60.1	0.3	100	467
Academy	81.0	17.2	1.8	100	17	82.0	17.7	0.3	100	46
University	95.5	2.2	2.3	100	8	81.0	18.6	0.4	100	42
Total	19.5	78.5	2.0	100	850	22.4	77.4	0.3	100	1358
Java (minus Jakarta)										
No school	1.3	97.6	1.1	100	157	1.0	98.2	0.8	100	101
<Primary	2.0	97.0	1.0	100	611	1.2	98.0	0.7	100	543
Primary	4.5	93.5	2.0	100	872	2.2	97.0	0.8	100	384
Junior S	15.2	78.9	5.9	100	289	8.5	90.5	1.1	100	776
Senior S	58.6	37.1	4.3	100	314	36.1	63.0	0.8	100	1220
Academy	71.0	25.4	3.6	100	20	77.7	21.3	1.0	100	97
University	95.6	3.4	1.0	100	12	74.8	24.5	0.7	100	95
Total	14.3	83.1	2.5	100	2075	16.4	82.7	0.9	100	4218

Source: 1980 and 1990 Censuses, calculated by PPT-LIPI, 1993, cited in Daliyo, 1994:187.

This over-supply and the 'push-down' in occupation among educated people has depressed the real rate of return on education (see Table 2.13). During the period 1982-1989, it was clear that in urban areas in particular, the rate of return for all levels of education and for all regions was decreasing. The sharpest decrease in the rate of return was at senior secondary school level (Table 2.13), particularly for new-comers to the labour force who were aged 15 to 30 (Table 2.14). Compared to 1986, those with secondary and academy education lost roughly 20 per cent of their income in 1989. In terms of regional differences, Jakarta was the province that had experienced the fastest drop in the rate of return to education in almost all levels of education. The most dramatic decrease was at the general senior secondary school level, from 28 per cent to 8 per cent (Table 2.15).

The decline in the rate of return on investment in education is partly a result of lower wages during that period, especially during 1986 to 1989. Nevertheless, the magnitude of the decline or even the trend might have changed in the first half of the 1990s, since compared with the situation in the 1980s, the overall wages were increasing in this period (Manning, 1998:47).

Table 2.13
Real rates of return to investment in education by education attainment Indonesia 1982-1989 (%).

Region & education	1982	1986	1988	1989
Urban education				
Primary and below	13	16	13	4
Junior high	17	14	13	14
Senior high general	22	16	13	11
Senior high vocational	16	15	10	6
Academy (3 years)	13	10	12	5
University (4 years)	11	7	6	5
Rural education				
Primary through Junior high	27	27	27	27

Source: Boediono and McMahon, 1992: 40.

Table 2.14
Average annual income of male workers in urban areas of Indonesia by levels of education and age group, 1986-1989 (Thousand Rupiahs, 1986 constant price).

Level of education	1986	1988	1989	Change in real income (1986-89) %
No schooling				
Aged 15-30	645	454	712	+53
31-50	842	710	888	+5
Primary				
Aged 15-30	621	579	621	0
31-50	1148	1032	1125	-2
Junior S (general)				
Aged 15-30	794	1122	659	-20
31-50	1490	1032	1448	-3
Senior S (general)				
Aged 15-30	1326	1173	1101	-20
31-50	1886	1986	1891	0
Senior secondary (Vocational)				
Aged 15-30	1447	1112	1045	-28
31-50	2125	1888	1768	-17
Academy				
Aged 15-30	1829	1763	1453	-20
31-50	2564	3300	2025	-21
University				
Aged 15-30	1820	2116	1760	-2
31-50	2812	2552	2686	-5
Inflation rates (%)	9.3	5.6	6.1	
Index 1986=100	109	115	122	

Source: Sakernas 1986, 1988, 1989 cited in Boediono and McMahon,1993:7.

Table 2.15
Real rates of return on investment on education by education attainment and region, 1982-1989 (%).

Region/ education	1982	1986	1988	1989
Jakarta				
Primary and below	17	17	16	7
Junior high	23	10	24	10
Senior high general	28	19	10	8
Senior high vocat.	8	20	7	5
Academy (3 years)	30	7	11	3
University (4 years)	18	11	7	2
Central Java				
Primary and below	12	16	17	1
Junior high	25	13	12	20
Senior high general	31	17	12	10
Senior high vocat.	11	16	9	8
Academy (3 years)	9	10	9	8
University (4 years)	8	5	9	5
East Java				
Primary and below	12	18	10	4
Junior high	18	14	13	19
Senior high general	29	13	12	12
Senior high vocat.	10	9	8	9
Academy (3 years)	10	12	5	8
University (4 years)	20	4	4	6

Source: Boediono and McMahon, 1992: 41.

2.8 Trends in education and employment and the research question

From the above situational analysis, it can be concluded that the rapid increase in secondary and higher education graduates with the bias of the curricula toward the modern sectors, a shortage of agricultural employment opportunities for them, and the cultural values and structural wage bias, -- all tend to result in narrow and specific job expectations for graduates, as they gravitate in similar directions: schooling followed by a search for work in the modern sector, particularly in the public or service sectors. Their objectives suggest their readiness, for a certain time, to be unemployed. The higher and the more specific the job expectations, the more effort, resources and time are devoted to their search and the more likely the search will involve the family and social or kinship networks. The stronger the cultural values, structural wage bias and the agricultural

pressure, more people are likely to make the decision to exploit their social as well as economic resources and intensify methods of job search in order to secure acceptable jobs. One important question is: who has benefited from better access to education and structural change in the economy and who has won in the fierce competition for getting a better job? These questions are very relevant to social policies, educational policy in particular. The following chapters seek some answers to these questions.

CHAPTER 3
SOCIAL ORIGIN AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

3.1. Literature review

Who benefited from the provision of higher education? The aim of this chapter is to answer this question indirectly by examining the determinants of educational attainment. There are at least two kinds of theories regarding the relationship between individual characteristics, parental and socio-environmental background, and educational attainment: first, theories developed by sociologists, and second, theories developed by economists.

3. 1. 1. Theories developed by sociologist.

The cultural capital theory (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) emphasizes the role of cultural capital as a socialization force, which determines educational achievement. According to this theory, parental education is likely to be a major resource for children's educational achievement. This is because on the one hand, children with different parental education have different abilities transmitted by their family, such as values, attitudes, language skills and interaction patterns; and on the other hand, schooling is culturally biased toward the middle class and dominant culture. Therefore, in schooling, the ascribed culture of children of educated parents is rewarded or certified by the school and they tend to adjust themselves quicker than children of parents with less education.

The economic constraints theory advanced by Boudon (1974), on the other hand suggests that financial support that is important to any education level differentiates the ability of parents to continue their children's education. These theories seem to neglect the dynamic of interaction between parents' expectation

and children's performance in school and different market prospect of children with different race and sex.

A more specific theory concerning the influence of cultural and economic factors of parents on educational achievement of children is sibling theory. The cultural and economic well being is reflected in the number of siblings, therefore the influence of those factors on children's educational attainment is mediated by the number of siblings in the family.

According to Blake (1989), the influence of number of siblings on the children's achievement is suspected to operate in at least three ways.

First, the number of siblings within a family usually reflects the 'socio-economic status' and orientation of the family. The number of siblings in the family can be interpreted as parents' orientation in regard to the quantity-quality trade-off. If parents prefer a big family, this implies that parents prefer quantity to quality. In this situation, children who come from a big family seem to be in an unfavorable climate for their quality achievement. Secondly, the number of siblings within a family reflects the distribution of supports which each child can receive and the socialization process among siblings within the family. Thirdly, sib-size has effects through birth order. The effect of the number of siblings on the achievement prospect of the children is suspected to work through 'resource allocation' by the parents or 'resource allocation' through their position within the sibling structure.

The mechanism through which cultural and socio-economic status of parents and number of siblings influence educational attainment of children, according to Blake (1989:190), is as follows: in the initial stage, sib-size might influence parents' desired number of years of schooling for their children.

However, as a process, parental desire for children's education is mediated by their children's performance in school. On the other hand, children's educational aspiration is influenced by their perception about their parents' economic as well as cultural supports, by their position in the sibling order and by their ability in school.

Those theories, however, seem to put the education system out of the labour market process. According to the so-called 'modernization' theory (Treiman, 1970), schooling cannot be separated from the industrialization process. Efficiency as a principle in economic development tends to promote meritocratic value based on individual ability rather than ascribed value, and the education system is assumed to enhance meritocratic value in supporting the industrialization process. As a result, according to this theory, the role of socio-economic background on educational attainment of children tends to decrease.

3.1.2 Theory developed by economists: human capital theory

Human capital theory assumes that a higher expected life time income than the current opportunity cost determines the investment in human capital through efforts such as education, on-the-job training, medical care, migration and searching for information (Becker, 1975: 9; Woodhall, 1987: 1-2). Since the present value of expected return determines the investment (Becker, 1975:86), those who are expected to have a longer time to obtain a higher expected life-time income and have lower opportunity cost are more likely to invest in human capital. Since younger rather than older people and males rather than females are likely to have a longer time to participate in the labour force to obtain a higher return on the investment, younger and male people are preferable for human capital investment (Becker, 1975:64-75). Total amount of investment in human capital (education) also differs among societies or persons because of differences in the demand side such as technological progress in the economy (Becker, 1975:76), purchasing

power of parents and the supply side such as distribution of educational institutions (Becker, 1975:106-115).

Along with this argument, Mare (1981), a sociologist stated that the source of inequality in educational achievement was not only at the household level (different socio-economic background) and individual characteristics such as IQ, but also at the societal levels, where educational policy provides different levels of accessibility of schooling. He suggested that there are two aspects of stratification in formal education: first, through distribution of schooling, and second through allocation of schooling by which some socio-economic groups have better access to the schooling. This implies that an even geographical distribution of schooling does not necessarily mean an even social distribution of schooling. From this point of view, home background and community background in a broader sense such as place of birth, as well as in a specific sense such as type of schooling, are considered to have a significant effect on the future educational achievement of pupils. Other factors such as religion and ethnicity were also considered to influence educational attainment through their values, such as values regarding divorce and approval for participating in the labour force for female's in particular (Sander, 1992:119).

Therefore, as Bielby (1981:20) suggested, '...the complex interaction between norms governing sex role and family relationships and institutional arrangements governing occupational opportunities and rewards' should be considered to assess the educational attainment of children. This implies that not only parental socio-economic resources and structural problems such as the availability of schools determine educational attainment, but also cultural problems, particularly different sex roles in the community and labour market prospects for graduates, will result in different educational attainment. Therefore, at

the household level, the interaction between socio-economic status of parents, and educational expectations of parents and of children, which then determine motivation and on the other hand accessibility of schooling and the expected occupational opportunity, will also determine the achievement in schooling.

3.2. Educational attainment in Java and its setting

These theories indicate some of the variables that are important in understanding the educational attainment of children. Nevertheless, understanding about the setting is needed, because it could give a better insight into the mechanism of how those variables work in a particular context. In my view, during the last three decades, three circumstances have greatly affected the differentials in educational attainment among children with different socio-economic, ethnic and religious backgrounds in Indonesia, in Java in particular. The first is the relatively egalitarian policy in education provision. The second is the difference in social demand toward modern education. The third is the decline in the economic return of a given level of education.

The first, mass Western – rather than traditional – education is largely meant by the government to 'equalize' education opportunity across socio-economic, ethnic and religious backgrounds in order to enhance national unity. However, this political goal may not succeed since there are differences in the demands for 'modern' schooling across different socio-economic and ethnic groups and religious backgrounds resulting from different purchasing power among these groups.

One of the reasons is that this modern education is less relevant to the economic activities of most people in agriculture and traditional trades activities. The decline in the economic value of a given level of education especially in the last two decades (Chapter 2) and the lack of relevance of the education curriculum

to the economic activities of people in the traditional sector, may result in reluctance among parents with low occupation to send their children to continue their formal schooling. On the other hand, for parents in modern sectors especially service occupations, formal schooling is relevant for entering modern sectors, so they pursue higher education for their children. So different social demands for education among parents with different occupations may result in increasing the education differential among children from different parental socio-economic backgrounds.

The second reason is that social demand for schooling seems to vary across social groups, especially ethnic and religious groups, resulting from different duration of their contact with modern education. Parents of the 'Babesuma' ethnic group (Bantenese, Betawinese, Sundanese and Maduranese), for example, with their Islamic orthodoxy called Nahdlatul Ulama, have only recently accepted modern education. Most followers of Nahdlatul Ulama have preferred *pesantren* education which was seen as a symbol of political resistance toward modern education (colonialism) and secular groups in the early Independence years.

This ethnic group also appears to be among the groups that obtain less benefit from modern education. On the other hand for those who are non-Babesuma ethnic groups or for secular groups, modern education seems to be part of their cultural identities and supports their economic activities. Especially among Chinese people, high unemployment that brings about the decline in the economic value of education could be prevented because they have a closer contact with employers. So the three factors: mass-education, different social demand for education and differential decline in the economic value of education seem to differentiate the chance of obtaining a higher education and benefit more those groups who see that modern education has a high social and economic return. This may result in

increasing the educational differential among children of different ethnic and religious groups.

In this circumstances, interpretation of the effects of different variables on children's educational attainment needs to consider those two aspects—differentials in the relevance of 'modern' education to economic activities and differentials in socio-cultural demand for 'modern' education among social groups – because, although these factors are excluded from the study, they seem to have an effect on educational attainment of children.

This chapter is divided into four sections first, the characteristics of respondents and educational attainment; second, the impacts of individual characteristics, socio-environmental and parental background on educational attainment (years of schooling); third, characteristics of family background, sex and non-formal education; fourth, summary of findings.

3.3 Characteristics of respondent

The characteristics of respondents include demographic characteristics (age, sex, marital status, and number of siblings), socio-environmental characteristics (place of birth, migration status, ethnicity and religion), parental background (education and occupation) and educational characteristics. All 3000 respondents were aged 15 to 29 years and were no longer in school. The average age was 23.5 years. The mean number of years of education was 12.5 while the mean number of years of their parents' education was 7. The proportion of males and females is the same. Less than one third were married, mostly in there twenties, and among those who were married, two thirds were females. The average sibling number was 5.7 (Table 3.1); 11 per cent were born in rural areas, and 18 per cent were inter-municipality migrants. More than 88 per cent were Moslem and almost half were Javanese (Appendix 3.1). Most of their fathers (38 per cent) were

production workers; 26 per cent of fathers of male respondents and 22 per cent of fathers of female respondents were in trades activities (Appendix 3.2). Only around 35 per cent of their mothers were working, mostly as sales and production workers (Appendix 3.3).

Table 3.1
Means and standard deviation for selected variables,
school leavers 15 to 29 years in tree cities of Java, 1994.

Variables	Means	Standard deviation
Age	23.50	3.39
Number of siblings	5.70	2.47
Father's education	7.63	3.28
Mother's education	6.25	3.37
Parents' education *a)*	6.94	3.03
Years of schooling	12.35	4.07
Occupation *b)*	40.20	11.63

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
Note: *a)*Fathers and mother's education are combined.
b) This table includes respondent's occupation,
but their discussion is presented in Chapter 8.

3.4 The relationship between individual characteristics, socio-environmental and parental background and educational attainment.

As shown in Table 3.2, all independent variables under consideration have a significant correlation with educational attainment. In general, parental background has a higher correlation than socio-environmental background and individual characteristics. Among individual characteristic variables, age has the highest correlation, while among socio-environmental and parental background variables, place of birth and education of father were among those with the highest correlation in the respective groups. The levels of correlation of all independent variables with educational attainment, from high to low level of correlation were: education of parents, age, occupation of father, number of siblings, ethnicity, place of birth, marital status, migration status, region, religion of mother, and the lowest was sex.

Table 3.2
Correlation among individual characteristics, parental and socio-environmental background and educational attainment, school leavers 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994 (both sexes).

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 Sex	-												
2 Age	.26	-											
3 Sibling	.03	.27	-										
4 Place of birth	.02	.08	.09	-									
5 Region	.05	.12	.23	.06	-								
6 Ethnicity	.01	.14	.19	.11	.50	-							
7 Religion of mother	.02	.08	11	-.07	.34	.40	-						
8 Parents'education	.01	-.32	-.34	.22	.16	.23	.19	-					
9 Father's occupation	.02	.22	.22	.51	.16	.19	.09	.50	-				
10 Migration	-.04	.11	.11	-.67	.06	.08	.06	.16	.. 50	-			
11 Marital Status	-.24	.37	.08	-.14	.16	.05	.07	.12	.12	.15	-		
12 Education	.07	.53	.33	.22	.08	.22	.15	.68	.38	.17	.12	-	
13 Vocational training	-.14	.18	.08	.07	.07	.01	-.06	.27	.16	-.03	-.03	.43	-

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

Note:

1 Sex
2 Age
3 Sibling
4 Place of birth
5 Region
6 Ethnicity
7 Religion of mother
8 Parents'education
9 Father's occupation
10 Migration
11 Marital Status
12 Education
13 Vocational training

3.4.1. Effect of individual characteristics, parental and socio-environmental background on educational attainment: regression results

So far, the correlation could only show the relationship of each independent variable to the dependent variable: how educational attainment is related with several factors, demographic, socio-environmental factors and parental background. However, the relationships of those independent variables to the dependent variable may overlap each other, one variable masking the influence of another variable in the relationship to the dependent variable.

Regression methods are one way to unmask the influence of other variables and to obtain net or direct effects and indirect effects of a particular independent variable on the dependent variable in causal models or path models of the status attainment process (Sewell and Hauser, 1975:11, 49-57[1]). The direct effect of a particular variable is the regression coefficient of the variable at the last model (Model E in the case of Table 3.3), that is after being controlled by other variables in the model. The indirect effect equals the total effect minus the direct effect. The total or gross effect is the regression coefficient of the variable at the first entry in the model: in Table 3.3 for example, Model A in the case of sex, and Model B in the case of place of birth.

The results of the regression model show the proportion explained in the model after each of the variables is added in the model and the change in the regression coefficient. Table 3.3 reveals that all independent variables could explain almost 30 per cent of the variation in educational attainment of children.

[1] The method of path analysis employed in this study is based on the example shown in the work of Sewell and Hauser (1975:51-57).

3. 4. 2. Direct effects

Sex, age, place of birth, ethnicity, parents' education, father's occupation and marital status have significant[2] and independent direct effects on educational attainment of children (Table 3.3). The 'R square change' at the bottom of Table 3.3 shows that parents' education contributes almost half (14 per cent out of the 30 per cent) of the proportion explained in the model. Thus in this study, education of parents appears to be the most powerful predictor of children's educational attainment.

The second highest contribution was age, followed by socio-environmental factors, mainly place of birth and ethnicity. Marital status also has a significant effect on educational attainment; on the other hand, differences in the number of siblings, religion of mother, region and migration statuses appear to be insignificant influences on children's educational attainment.

Model E of Table 3.3 tells us that everything else being equal, males could a chance to obtain a higher (32 per cent of one year of schooling) level of educational attainment than females. This is equivalent to roughly 3. 8 months longer in school than females. For both males and females, a one-year increase in their ages will increase the probability of remaining in school by 28 per cent of a year of schooling. For those who were married, the average years of schooling were around ten months (83 per cent of one year of schooling) shorter than for those who were single.

Number of siblings has no significant effect on the years of schooling. This is far from Blake's (1989:298) findings in the United States where sibling size was the second most important factor after father's education in affecting the total

[2]Significant (*)refers to the significant of Model F-test in a regression model. If the T value was greater than 1.96 or less than -1.96 the parameter is significantly different from zero at the 5 per cent level of confidence (Gray, 1994:121).

years of education. In Indonesia, especially in the areas of the study, although parents with lower occupation tended to have more children (Table 3.2), nevertheless, the government's heavy subsidy[3] of educational provision, especially through *Inpres* schemes, may have mitigated the negative effect of sib-size on children's educational attainment.

Urban-born children also have a higher probability (17 months longer or 143 per cent of one year of schooling) in their schooling than the rural-born. Different demand for and supply of education between urban areas and rural areas generally is seen as one of the factors in the rural-urban differential in educational attainment. In most villages of rural areas of Indonesia and in areas surrounding the three cities in the study in particular, the number and variety of schools were limited, most of the villages only having primary schools. Therefore, among those who were born in rural areas, only those who were born in relatively affluent families could continue their education.

Compared to other ethnic groups, Javanese youth have the highest probability of continuing their education (around 80 per cent of one year of schooling or around 9 months above the Babesuma ethnic group). Educational attainment of Babesuma[4] was lower than that of Javanese and 'Other' ethnic groups. Low probability of continuation of education among the youth of the Babesuma ethnic group may be due to cultural factors such as a stronger preference for traditional education (*pesantren*[5]) and possibly a lower expectation

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[3] According to the World Bank (1982), in Indonesia, in the 1970s, for example, the proportion of GNP devoted to education (ranging from 2 to 5 per cent) was similar to that in most developed countries. In 1992, in public university, the tuition fees paid by students only covered 15 per cent of the public university cost (Boediono, McMahon and Adams, 1992:33).

[4] Babesuma refers to Bantenese, Betawinese, Sundanese and Maduranese: indigenous ethnic groups in Java apart from the Javanese ethnic group.

[5] A strong preference towards *pesantren* will result in low years of schooling for some reasons: first, enrollment in *pesantren* was not regarded as schooling by the respondents. Second, *pesantren* graduates were unable to further their education in 'modern' education (*sekolah umum*). To solve this problem, in the early 1980s the government introduced the *'madrasah'* type of school that combines 'modern' and religious curricula and enables the graduates to continue their education in 'modern' schooling.

on the social as well as economic rate of return of modern education, since they have experienced a strong resistance toward modern (colonial and secular) education in the first half of the century. Moreover, modern education seems to be far from the needs of the traditional economy of most members of this ethnic group.

It is also interesting to note that the probability of continuing education was higher among children of the Javanese than among children of 'other' ethnic groups. One possible explanation was that most parents of the 'other' ethnic group, mostly Chinese and Arabs, were engaged in trades, which do not require high formal educational qualification, while high formal educational qualification seem to be a necessity for children of the Javanese ethnic group, most of whom were attracted to service sector activities.

Among all variables, parents' education had the strongest effect on the educational attainment of children: one-year difference in schooling of parents affects the chance for the continuation of education among children by around a half-year of schooling, or 4. 5 months 0.37 per cent, in standardized coefficient. So assuming everything else was equal, children of parents (both father and mother) with university qualification could obtain roughly six and a half years longer in school than children of parents with primary education qualification.

Why does parents' education strongly affects children's educational attainment in Indonesia? First, parents of the respondents were mostly born in the situation where the 'contradiction' between secular and religious education was rampant. So, parents with high educational qualifications were more likely to be born in families that were more receptive toward 'modernization' or 'Westernization'; of which educational institutions were seen as one of the agents. So, children of parents with high educational qualification were more likely to

have a social milieu that supported high achievement in education. Second, parents with high educational qualification were also a prime source of cultural and emotional capital for children's value attitudes, intellectual and verbal development. Parents' education seems to be the most powerful source for 'cultural reproduction', whereby children with parents holding high educational qualifications were equipped with a culture that was likely to be matched with school culture.

Unlike parents' education, father's occupation only has a small effect on the probability of the continuation of children's education (R square change was below one per cent). Assuming everything else was equal, compared to children of farmers, children of fathers with professional occupations could spend 14 months (1.19 x 12 months) longer in school. The pattern was clear that children of fathers with higher occupations have a higher probability of continuing their education than children continue of parents with lower occupations.

Table 3.3
Regression on the probability of educational attainment among school leavers 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994. (The omitted category was coded 0.)

Independent variables	Ca-ses	Regression Coefficient					Standard-ized
		Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	
Sex							
Female	1503						
Male	1497	.48***	.50***	.53***	.51***	.32*	.04*
		(.14)	(.13)	(.12)	(.12)	(.12)	(.01)
Age	3000	.30***	.29***	.24***	.24***	.28***	.24***
		(.02)	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)
Number of siblings	3000	-.02	.01	.04	.03	.03	.01
		(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)
Place of birth							
Rural	325						
Urban	2675		2.56***	1.66***	1.44***	1.43***	.10***
			(.22)	(.20)	(.22)	(.23)	(.02)
Region							
Jakarta	1750						
Semarang	500		-.68**	-.09	-.12	-.11	-.01
			(.21)	(.20)	(.20)	(.20)	(.02)
Surabaya	750		.01	.32	.32	.37	.04
			(.18)	(.17)	(.17)	(.17)	(.02)
Ethnicity							
Babesuma	846						
Javanese	1462		1.47***	.83***	.86***	..81***	.10***
			(.21)	(.18)	(.17)	(.17)	(.02)
Others	690		.97***	.39*	.38*	.34	.03
			(.18)	(.19)	(.19)	(.19)	(.01)
Religion of mother							
Non-Moslem	348						
Moslem	2652		-1.34***	-.52*	-.54	-.44	-.03
			(.25)	(.23)	(.23)	(.23)	(.01)
Parents' educ.	3000			.53***	.51***	.50***	.37***
				(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Father's occup.							
Professional	109				1.19**	1.19**	.09**
					(.41)	(.41)	(.01)
Clerical	383				1.07***	1.03***	.08**
					(.29)	(.20)	(.02)
Trades	719				.82**	.80**	.08**
					(.26)	(.26)	(.02)
Services	398				.42	.42	.06
					(.32)	(.32)	(.02)
Production	1106				.41	.41	.05
					(.25)	(.25)	(.25)
Farmers	219						
Marital status							
Single	2095						
Married	905					-.83***	-.09***
						(.15)	(.01)
Migration status							
Non-migrant	2464						
Migrant	536					.16	.01
						(.22)	(.02)
Constant		4.9805	3.1648	.6541	.7195	.1191	
Model R2		.070	.140	.285	.291	.298	
F		75.97	54.21	119.71	81.84	74.58	
R2 change		.070	.069	.145	.005	.007	
F change		75.97***	40.38***	609.54***	4.64***	14.65***	

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
Herein after numbers in parentheses refer to the standard errors, * refers to significant at 0.05, ** =significant at 0.005 and ***= significant at 0.0005.

3.4.3. Indirect effects

By comparing the coefficients of the variables which appear in the successive Models (Model A to Model E in the case of Table 3.3), it is possible to identify which variable in the subsequent model was mediating the indirect effect of any variable in the reduced model. A lower coefficient for any variable in Table 3.3 –i.e. approaching 0 –means that the gap between that variable and the reference category is decreasing. One of the interesting findings of Table 3.3 is the significant decreases in the coefficient of place of birth, ethnicity, region and especially religion of mother, after parents' education was put in the model (Model D). This indicates that differences in parents' education have played significant roles in the differences in place of birth, region, ethnicity and religion of mother of the children. Parents' education was the crucial variable and has mediated the particular influence of these factors in the educational attainment of children. Similar to this is the role of migration and especially marital status in mediating the effects of other variables, sex, age and ethnicity in particular, on educational attainment. A great reduction in the coefficients of sex and ethnicity after the marital status variable was included in the model indicates that the dividing line of marital status –married and single – largely falls along sex and ethnic lines and affects the likelihood of obtaining a better education. This means that marital status was mediating the effect of sex and ethnicity on educational attainment.

As shown in Table 3.4, the ratio of indirect effects to the total effect of place of birth, ethnicity, region and especially religion of mother was large. This situation suggests that the indirect influences of place of birth, ethnicity, and especially region and religion of mother on children's educational attainment were operating largely through other variables, as shown in Table 3.3, through parents' education, and to some extent father's occupation and marital status. Since parents'

education also has the strongest direct effect (the coefficient was 0.50 and the R square change was 0.145) and mediated large parts of the indirect effects of several socio-environmental variables, therefore parents' education was the key factor for explaining the educational attainment of children.

Nevertheless, since all variables in this study could only explain around 30 per cent of the variation in children's educational attainment, an important issue remains about the significance of other variables excluded from the study, such as children's psychological characteristics and efforts, peer groups or parental income that could contribute to their achievement in education.

Table 3.4
Total effect, direct effect and indirect effect[a] of variables on the educational attainment among youth 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994.

Independent variables	Total effect	Direct effect	Indirect effect	Indirect / Total effect
Sex	.48	.32	-.16	.33
Age	.30	.28	-.02	.06
Sibling	-.02	.03	-.05	2.50
Place of birth	2.56	1.43	-1.13	.44
Ethnicity				
Javanese	1.47	.81	-.66	.44
Others	.97	.34	-.63	.64
Religion of mother	-1.34	-.44	-.90	.67
Region				
Semarang	-.68	-.11	-.57	.84
Surabaya	.01	.37	+.36	36.0
Education of parents	.53	.50	-.03	.001
Father's occupation				
Professional	1.19	1.19	.00	.00
Clerical	1.07	1.03	-.04	.03
Trades	.82	.80	-.02	.02
Services	.42	.42	.00	.00
Production	.41	.41	.00	.00
Migration status	.16	.16	.00	.00
Marital status	-.83	-.83	.00	.00

Source: Table 3.3.

[a]Total effect is the coefficient of the variable at the first entry in the model. Direct effect is the coefficient of the variable at the last model. Indirect effect = the gap between the total effect and the direct effect as a result of a decrease (-) or increase (+) of the coefficient after other variables were put in the model.
Reference categories were females, rural born, Other ethnic groups, non-Moslem, Jakarta, farmers, non-migrant and those who were single.

If parental education indicates cultural resources of parents and parental occupation indicates economic resources of parents, this study confirms that the

process of stratification in educational attainment in the area shows a stronger tendency of 'cultural reproduction' than 'economic reproduction'. This does not mean that parental economic support has no significant effect on children's educational attainment. Indeed, Table 3.3 shows a significant effect of economic support on children's educational attainment, as measured by the effect of father's occupation. Nevertheless, the effect was weaker than that of parental education. This situation is parallel with cultural capital theory (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) which emphasizes the role of cultural capital as a socialization force, which determines educational achievement. One of the reasons was that in Indonesia, as was mentioned earlier, the education system was highly subsidized, so that the economic constraints (emphasized by Boudon, 1974) were reduced, and the role of cultural resource was more decisive in the school achievement process. Therefore, a higher explanatory power of 'cultural capital' than economic capital seems to be partly caused by the government's intervention on school supply.

In regard to the debate on the relative importance between cultural capital and economic capital, human capital theory seems to be insensitive. Human capital theory seems to generalize the issue as the 'demand' for education at the household level without considering the relative importance between parental 'cultural resources', such as education and 'economic resources', such as occupation (Becker, 1975:64-75). Human capital theory also played a part in explaining the educational attainment in the area, because there were significant differences in educational attainment between male and female, rural and urban, single and married youth. Nevertheless, since human capital theory does not explain the role of education in the social system, this theory appears to be inadequate. On the other hand, reproduction theory or cultural capital theory does explain the issue, when differentials in educational attainment between children with different

parental background, sex, marital status and place of birth are regarded as efforts to reproduce the social system. This theory appears to be more adequate in explaining the issue. Social system also appears to be maintained through sex differentials in the subjects of study and chance to have non-formal education.

3.5. Sex, education disciplines and non-formal education

In Indonesian, besides years of schooling, other indicators of educational achievement were the subjects studied (later called 'educational disciplines') and non-formal education. Non-formal education is an *ad hoc* education or training provided by government or private institutions to achieve specific purposes and arranged in non-structural institutions. Courses such as computers, electronics, English for escorting tourists and hair-dressing courses are non-formal education, because of the specific and practical characteristics of non-formal education, this type of education, as will be seen in this study, is also called 'vocational training'. Educational disciplines and non-formal education also have different prices in the labour market and are taken by children of different sexes.

At the community level, social reproduction that affects sexual bias in educational attainment is reflected in the state's educational provision and is more prevalent in schools where the curriculum is closely linked to occupational preparation, such as in vocational education and higher education (Pascall, 1986:115). In Indonesian, following Year 1 of the senior secondary school, options are given to children and their parents to choose between more general education for long-term investment or more vocational education for a quicker transition to employment. Children and parents apparently choose educational disciplines and types of non-formal education in line with their different types of investment, long-term or short-term, and in line with the suitability of future work likely to result from the education discipline chosen for the sex of their children. Table 3.5 shows

the tendency for children with different socio-economic background, parental education in particular, and of different sexes tend to pursue different educational disciplines in formal as well as in non-formal education.

Children with lower parental education (below primary school) are more likely to pursue technical education (42 per cent), whereas children with high parental education qualification concentrated more on general and humanities education (38 and 40 per cent). So, there is a class segregation. Graduates from vocational education were expected by parents to find a job soon after they graduated from the senior high school, therefore most parents from lower social backgrounds preferred vocational to general education (Beeby, 1982: 28). Although Table 3.5 is not constructed according to a general - vocational education dichotomy, it also reflects this tendency.

Table 3.5
Educational disciplines of school leavers 15 to 29 years, by parent's education and sex, in tree cities of Java, 1994.

	Education disciplines of children							
Parental Background	1	2	3	4	Total %	N	Phi	P
Parents' education							.130	**
<Primary	28.9	26.8	42.3	2.0	100	149		
Primary	37.1	25.7	35.8	1.5	100	545		
Junior S	40.5	20.8	33.5	5.2	100	462		
Senior S >	38.7	23.7	31.5	6.1	100	594		
Sex							.371	***
Females	42.0	35.8	17.1	5.1	100	829		
Males	34.1	13.0	49.7	3.1	100	921		

Source: 'The Dynamic of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

Note: 1 General & Humanity, 2. Economics, 3 Technology, and 4 Others.
Herein after P refers to Pearson chi-square probability.
*, ** and *** see note on Table 3.3.

It is interesting to note that the proportion and the number of females with vocational training (45 per cent, or 682 out of 1503 female respondents) were higher than of males (31 per cent, or 476 out of 1497 male respondents – Table 3.6). Parents may have differentiated the chance of sons for continuing their formal education as long-term investment, while for their daughters, parents may gave

them short-term investment in vocational training. For both sons and daughters, however, the chance of having vocational training increased remarkably as their education levels increased, at least up to the senior secondary levels (Table 3.6). This means that young people who already have high educational qualifications are more likely to have non-formal education than those who are less educated. So, there is a tendency for human capital accumulation to be greater for a particular group of young people, those from high socio-economic background.

Table 3.6
The proportion of school leavers 15 to 29 years having vocational training by educational levels and sex, three cities of Java, 1994.

	Males		Females		Both sexes	
Levels of education	%	n	%	n	%	n
Below primary	5.9	6	16.0	20	11.5	26
Primary	7.3	13	19.5	49	14.4	62
Junior secondary	10.9	30	22.5	65	16.8	95
Senior secondary	41.5	337	62.8	450	51.4	787
Tertiary	69.8	90	81.0	98	45.2	188
Total	31.7	476	45.5	682	38.6	1158

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

From this situation it is clear that children's educational attainment in terms of levels and disciplines, in formal as well as in non-formal education, is class and sex biased. In Table 3.7 it is also clear that females who were taking non-formal education were likely to have vocational courses such as book-keeping, secretarial studies and 'cosmetology' and manicure which usually direct them to low-level white collar occupations, while a majority of males (58 per cent) were attending language or computer courses, which were assumed to support them to gain more prestigious occupations. From this perspective, inequality and sex bias in employment opportunity are set up even before young people enter into the labour market.

Table 3.7.
Non -formal education of school leavers 15 to 29 years by respondent education and socio-economic background, three cities of Java, 1994.

	Non Formal Education							
	Lang-uages +secre-tary	Com-puter	Book-kee-ping	Others	Total %	N	Phi	P
Respondent education							.542	***
<Primary	3.8	19.2	15.4	61.5	100	26		
Primary	0.0	1.6	1.6	96.8	100	62		
Junior S	3.2	10.8	9.7	76.3	100	93		
Senior S	7.5	47.1	27.5	17.9	100	764		
Tertiary	10.3	56.8	15.7	17.3	100	185		
Father's Occupation							.210	**
Professional	10.5	43.9	21.1	24.6	100	57		
Clerical	8.5	50.7	19.4	21.4	100	201		
Trades	6.4	44.0	23.4	26.2	100	282		
Services	7.9	42.9	23.2	26.0	100	177		
Production	6.9	40.4	24.4	28.4	100	349		
Farmers	1.6	20.3	15.6	62.5	100	64		
Parents' education							.229	***
<Primary	5.2	31.3	23.5	40.0	100	115		
Primary	5.3	34.1	23.5	37.2	100	358		
Junior S	6.6	43.8	23.7	25.9	100	274		
Senior S>	9.7	53.0	20.1	17.2	100	383		
Sex of respondent							.154	***
Males	9.8	48.3	16.7	25.2	100	460		
Females	5.2	38.7	26.3	29.9	100	670		

Source: 'The Dynamic of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
*, ** and *** see note on Table 3.3.

3.6 Summary of findings

First, in general, there is a sexual bias towards sons in the preparation parents provide for their children before entering the labour market: sons tend to have higher educational attainment, and to have educational disciplines and vocational training which are more likely to have long-term career prospects than is the case for females.

Second, all independent variables could explain around 30 per cent of the variation in educational attainment, and around half of this was explained by parental background. Parents' education was the most powerful predictor of educational attainment. Father's occupation was significant in explaining the

variation in educational attainment though it had only a weak influence. This means that inequality in parents' cultural capital (education) was passed on to their children through the schooling process. However, since parental background in this study could only explain around 15 per cent of the variation in children's educational attainment, this leaves open the possibility that an important part of children's achievement is independent of parents' influence. Children's personal characteristics (such as IQ), teaching practice at school and structure and growth of the educational institution are among the factors –outside parental background-- that could contribute to their achievement in education. Nevertheless, among variables considered in this study, the educational achievement of parents greatly determines the chance of children to continue their education.

If parental education indicates cultural resource of parents and parental occupation indicates economic resource of parents, this study confirms that the process of stratification in educational attainment in the area shows a stronger tendency to 'cultural reproduction' than to 'economic reproduction'. Cultural capital theory (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) emphasizes the role of cultural capital as a socialization force which determines educational achievement. One of the reasons was that in Indonesia, as was mentioned earlier, the education system was highly subsidized, so that the economic constraints, emphasized by Boudon: (1974), were reduced, and the role of cultural resources was more decisive in the school achievement process. Therefore, a higher explanatory power of 'cultural capital' than economic capital seems to be partly caused by the government's intervention in school supply.

The higher explanatory power of 'cultural capital' (cultural reproduction theory) in this study does not necessarily mean rejection of the modernization hypothesis which assumes that the influence of parental background on children's

educational achievement declines along the modernization process. Comparable time-series data of this kind in this area need to be taken to verify the trends (increase or decrease) of influence of parental background on children's educational achievement.

Third, besides parental background, sex, age, marital status, and place of birth and ethnicity also have significant effects on the educational attainment of children. The significant and independent effects of these variables may indicate that regardless of parental background, different social role expectations resulting from those factors have determined the demand and chance for children of different sex, marital status, place of birth and ethnic background to obtain education.

Young people who already have high educational qualification are more likely to have non-formal education than those who are less educated. So there is a tendency for a cumulative acquisition of human capital.

The significant differences in educational attainment among children with different sex, marital status, parental background, and place of birth indicate that besides reproduction theory or cultural capital theory, human capital theory also played a part in explaining the educational attainment in the area. Nevertheless, reproduction theory appears to be more adequate in explaining the issue, when differentials in educational attainment between children with different parental background, sex, marital status and place of birth are also regarded as a product of the reproduction of the social system through schooling. On the other hand, human capital theory does not explain the function of schooling in a social system.

In general, socio-cultural and sexual role reproduction through schooling in this sense was clearly prevalent in this area. The provision of heavily subsidized high education institutions benefit more those who have a greater chance to pass secondary education: children of the middle class, males, with urban background in

particular. This situation also indicates that there was 'pre-market segmentation': school leavers were segmented into educational levels and disciplines which differ along class and sex lines, before they enter the labour market.

CHAPTER 4
FAMILY BACKGROUND, EDUCATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOUR FORCE

4.1 Introduction

The stratification process operates partly through different degrees of participation in the labour force among different groups. Sex differentials in labour-force participation are one of the most obvious phenomena of stratification. Since the end of World War II, in many countries, participation of females in the labour force has been increasing markedly, nevertheless, according to Semyonov (1980: 534), very few studies were taking into account female participation in the work force as an issue of social stratification. This is curious, because, according to Semyonov, the exclusion of females from the labour market is an aspect of social inequality in the stratification system.

The inclusion of the issue of labour-force participation in this study is meant to address a particular aspect of that issue. This chapter, however, concerns mainly the supply side: the effect of individual characteristics, parental, educational and socio-environmental background on labour-force participation. Understanding the influence of these backgrounds on labour-force participation among youth in particular is important in order to identify background variables as sources of inequality in the early stage of young people's life career.

This chapter concerns two major topics: first, the relationship between background variables (independent variables) and labour force statuses of respondents; second the effect of background variables, including educational attainment, on participation in the labour force. In contrast with mature adults, young school leavers seem to be in a period of transition to employment where they can fill the gap between school and employment with several kinds of activity. In a situation

where unemployment is high, the gap is more likely to be filled with several activities. Therefore, exploring several activities of school leavers, rather than directly analyzing the simple dichotomy of 'in or out of the labour force', is also important in the study of young people.

4.2. Labour force concept.

Usually people who are working and looking for work are categorized as participating in the labour force, while people who are outside those activities are categorized as 'not in the labour force'. However, as Godfrey mentioned (1993:25) this kind of approach has its limitations, especially in monitoring unemployment in a labour surplus economy. The deficiency of this approach seems to be particularly apparent when dealing with unemployment of young people. Godfrey also proposed two distinct concepts to cope with unemployment: *active unemployed*, people who are seeking a job and *inactive unemployed*, people who are not working, not seeking a job but available for work (1993:4).

This chapter applies the conventional definition of the labour force (working and seeking a job are categorized as labour force), and, as Godfrey suggested, inactive unemployed are treated as a separate sub-category and grouped into the 'out of the labour force' category. The data of this study show the responses of the respondents (school leavers) about their *main* activities during the last seven days: working, seeking a job, apprenticeship, voluntary workers, *'penganggur'*, attending course and house keepers. In reality, however, school leavers could be involved in some of those activities simultaneously. It is interesting to note that based on these responses, seeking a job and *penganggur* are different. *Pencari kerja* (job seeker) seems to be equivalent to active unemployed and *penganggur* (unemployed) is equivalent to

inactive unemployed. Working or employed is defined according to the labour force concept which refers to people who are working in a particular job to earn income directly, or help other people to earn income or benefit, for at least one hour during the previous week as the time reference (Tirtosudarmo et al., 1995: 9-10). Since apprenticeship programs and voluntary jobs in Indonesia are usually undertaken by people who are seeking a job and their number was very small, these categories were grouped with the 'job seekers' category. Those who were attending a course – the number was also very small – and housekeepers were merged into the 'housekeeper' category. The *penganggur* category in this survey appears to be closely related to those who were classified in the residual 'others' category in some censuses in Indonesia, of which the proportion increased from 10 per cent in 1976-78 to 20 per cent in 1986-87 and consists mostly of young people who were in the transition from school to work and 'discouraged' (Jones and Manning, 1992: 12). In this study the *penganggur* is categorized as 'others' and treated as a distinct category to explain in more detail the picture of job-seeking behaviour among young people.

The first section of this chapter uses this terminology, to explore the variety of transitional activities from school to employment. This seems to be legitimate because, apart from the fact that the proportion of the unemployed (9 per cent) is higher than that of job seekers (6 per cent), the in depth interviews (Chapter 7) revealed that being inactive unemployed also frequently means to resist working, because they want to have another year of schooling or courses, for example.

4.3. Social origin, sex, education and participation in the labour force: theoretical perspectives

4. 3.1 Social origin, sex, and participation in the labour force

In modern societies, in almost all cultures men are expected to enter into paid employment in order to support their family until they retire. In general, for males,

participation in the labour force is seen as a necessity, however, it seems that this male's obligation is culturally and socially defined.

According to Jonsson (1992:57-63), there are at least two theories regarding sex differences in labour-force participation.

1.The sex - roles approach. According to the sex-roles theory (Parson's theory) as cited by Jonsson, different roles between men and women are based on the complementary roles of both sexes, primarily in the family. Boys and girls are socialized into complementary roles within the family, which produce the characteristics of masculinity and femininity. These images of masculinity and femininity in turn shape their expectation of life and on the other hand, other people's expectations of them are regarded as a 'social norm' and act as social controls or social pressures. The content of role expectations, which influence individuals' personalities through psychological process, determines gender relations. In other words, sex-roles are 'psychological constructions'. These images of masculinity and femininity influence both boys and girls in choosing educational curricula as well as occupational choices. This theory suggests that gender relations will change if the role expectation changes. This theory, however, neglects the power relation and social structure as the source of the roles.

2. Reproduction theory and radical feminist theories suggest that sex difference in labour-force participation is a product of and a way to reproduce males' domination over females in patriarchal societies. Marxist theory (see Bowles and Gintis, 1976), emphasizes the gender dimension of schooling and focuses mainly on how schooling reproduces class relations, for example. reproduction of capitalist society. In these theories, over-emphasis on patriarchy (radical feminists) and class-relations (Marxist) resulted in over-generalization on the gender relations in different

societies or different systems. This deterministic approach of reproduction theory emphasizes more the structural factors, irrespective of whether they are patriarchal or capitalist and consequently, neglect the role of individual aspiration and the resistance to accepting domination.

4.3.2. Education and participation in the labour force

According to Benavot (1992:27-28), there are at least three theories regarding the effect of education on participation in the labour force.

1. Human capital theory suggests that education increase the productivity and efficiency of workers. Therefore, improvement in their educational level encourages people to participate in the labour force. Human capital theory considers that social norms and mode of production of the economy are a source of social demand for education. This theory, however, focuses more on education as a source of change of individual characteristics, especially levels of productivity. So, in contrast to sex-role theory, Marxist and radical feminist theories, human capital theory emphasizes individual factors rather than structural factors. Receiving education changes the characteristics of the recipient, in terms of both skills and aspirations. Since the amount invested in education is a function of the rate of return expected (Becker, 1975:86), investment on females is less preferable than on males. Because of intermittent labour-force participation, females have a shorter time span in the labour market and this results in a lower lifetime income than for males. Since the amount invested in education is a function of the rate of return expected, regardless of sex, those who have higher educational qualifications are more likely to participate in the labour force than those with lower educational qualifications, because with a high level of skill achieved, the former face higher forgone earnings than the latter, if they remain out of the labour force. This explanation of human capital theory ignores the

effect of social organization in different societies on labour-force participation of males and females.

2. Modernization theory suggests that education can transform individual values, beliefs and behaviour, which bring about economic development. The modernization process demands efficiency and puts education as a training institution where 'objective and universal' criteria of skill improvement are imposed. During the 1970s, according to Benavot (1992), criticism of human capital theory and modernization theory was mounting, because these theories could not explain the Third World's phenomena of females' low wages and high unemployment among graduates.

3. Neo-Marxist theory argued that the structural dependency of the Third World on the global power (Western power) is the source of high unemployment among graduates, especially women, the brain drain to developed countries and severe credentialism. This led to pessimism about the value of education for development and induced the rise of theories on the role of education as a means of social reproduction (Carnoy, 1978; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Although inequality was becoming one of the issues, the issue of gender was only 'considered' to have an effect but was largely neglected in this theory (Benavot, 1992:28).

4.3.3 Family structure, female participation in the labour force and the 'promise' of education.

The theories summarized above cannot explain different participation in the labour force among females of the same class and education. According to Papanek (1985:319-22), the interplay between family structure and the labour market, rather than merely level of education or structural dependence, are two key factors affecting different levels of participation among females. In this regard, she suggests that the

educational process is only one of the mediations of the interplay between family structure and the labour market. In a more loosely structured family, where jointly held resources under patriarchal households are weak, the family strategy is also loose. So resources can be invested in broader activities, including education of women, as long as the outcomes benefit the family investment. Therefore, the release of women into the educational process and the labour market largely depends on the needs for family survival and social mobility. Since family resources, family structures and the labour market or employment opportunities differ from one family to another, the interplay between the family and the labour market can be analyzed through, but not merely on, class and income differences. For example, for poor families, full deployment of labour including women and children may be necessary in order to survive.

On the other hand, family status and prestige for example may be more important for female labour utilization among middle class families. Although allowing girls to go to a higher level of education, for the reason of 'family honor' many middle class families prevent them becoming directly involved in the labour market, but when modern sector opportunities are available, female labour utilization is encouraged for social mobility purposes. With mass education which changes individual values and structural economic change which provides appropriate jobs for females, there is more momentum for females to participate in the labour market. So, based on this explanation, beside class and education, the interplay between family structure and the availability of appropriate jobs in the labour market are also important for explaining female participation in the labour force.

According to Benavot (1992:29), the effect of education on females' labour-force participation operates through one or more of the following mechanisms: the

rise in earning power through their education qualification which provide credentials for them in seeking jobs, occupational aspirations, changing attitude toward their traditional roles and higher propensity to migrate due to better educational attainment among females.

Nevertheless, for school-leavers, in a high unemployment context in particular, participation in the labour force seems to be more problematic, because they face several problems simultaneously: their life cycle 'obligation' increases with age, the devaluation of education qualification creates difficulties in matching job aspiration and job opportunity and in matching the hoped-for independence in the transition and the need for parental support to find the aspired job. It is possible that social origin (parental background, ethnicity, religion and region) besides education and individual characteristics, plays an important role in the decision to participate in the labour force.

4.4. Social origin, education and gender difference in labour-force participation: cross-tabulation results[1]

Tables 4.1 to 4.4 show that common phenomena predicted by some theories mentioned above were prevalent in this area. First, female participation in the labour force was lower than that of males (61 compared to 87 per cent) and in the working, job seeking, and discouraged categories, the proportion of females was also lower than that of males (Table 4.1). Second, the 'achieved' factors, educational levels and having vocational training, as well as individual factors such as age and marital status, which reflect the increasing demand for young people to determine their sex roles in the society, greatly affect on labour-force participation. The correlates of 'achieved'

[1] The inclusion of the interaction between sex and other variables contributes a significant change in the R square of the model (see Appendix 4.1), which means that the regression coefficients of males and females were significantly different. Therefore, the cross-tabulation and the logistic regression analyses of male and female labour-force participation will be separated.

and individual factors seem to be particularly more obvious in the case of the participation of females (Table 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4).

Table 4.1.
Percentage distribution of main activities of school leavers 15 to 29 years by sex in three cities of Java, 1994.

Main activities	Males	Females
Labour force		
Working	78.2	57.0
Seeking Jobs	8.4	4.2
Total	86.6	61.2
Not In the labour force		
Housekeeper	1.7	32.2
Others	11.8	6.6
Total	13.5	38.9
Total	100	100
N	1497	1503

Source: 'The Dynamic of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

Table 4.2
The correlation of labour-force participation by some explanatory variables, school leavers 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994.

	Males		Females	
Explanatory variables	Phi	P	Phi	P
Parental background				
Education of parents	.114	*	.161	**
Occupation of father	.141	*	.161	**
Educational attainment of respondents				
Respondent education	.146	*	.244	***
Vocational training	.174	***	.223	***
Individual characteristics				
Age of respondent	.246	***	.257	***
Number of siblings	.079	ns	.074	ns
Marital status	.176	***	.545	***
Environmental background				
Migration status	.135	***	.121	**
Place of birth	.098	*	.105	**
Ethnicity	.059	ns	.132	**
Religion of mother	.097	*	.117	**
Region	.123	***	.121	**

Source: Survey Data 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
P= Pearson Chi-square probability.
*, ** and *** see note on Table 3.3
ns= not significant.

The proportion of males was higher in the 'working', 'job seeking' as well as 'others' categories. In the job seeking and 'others' categories, the proportion of males was almost twice that of females. Among all factors, marital status has the highest correlation and shows the greatest differential effect on labour-force participation. For males, marriage seems to place them squarely in the working population (93 per cent), while for females it is more likely to put them inside the house (62 per cent). Marriage for females is a factor of greater consequence for labour participation that it is for males.

The unequal opportunity to enter the labour force is also obvious in several stages of women's life cycles (Table 4.3). Males participate more as their ages increase and if they are married. By contrast, after the age of 24, females' participation level tends to decrease, partly because of marriage and household duties. Several other life contingencies, such as being a migrant, born in a rural or urban area, or being born in a particular ethnic or religious group also presented a greater barrier for females to participate in the labour force than for males. For young males, as indicated in Table 4.3, after leaving school, migration usually means (94 per cent) entering the labour force, compared to 85 per cent of non-migrants. For females, migration means for 44 per cent out of the labour force, compared to only 37 per cent of those who were non-migrants. The same pattern was also occurring for rural-urban differences, since those who were born in rural areas were also migrants.

The local labour market or region, as shown in Table 4.4, also has a significant relationship with the participation in the labour force of both males and females. In Jakarta, the participation of both males and females was recorded as lowest. Compared to other regions, young people who were out of work in Jakarta

were over-represented in the 'others' category, and for the females, were over-represented in the 'housekeeper' category.

Being born into Babesuma, Javanese or other ethnic group led to no differences in labour-force participation for males, but for females, the restraint which prevents females of Babesuma from joining the labour force was apparently tighter, while female Javanese and 'other' ethnic groups seem to have no such restraints (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3

Participation in the labour force by sex, individual characteristics and environmental factors, school leavers 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994.

	Males										Females									
	In the labour force			Not in the labour force			Total	N	Phi	P	In the labour force			Not in the labour force			Total	N	Phi	P
	Working	Job See kers	Total %	House-keepers	Others	Total %	%				Working	Job see-kers	Total %	House-keepers	Others	Total %	%			
Age									.246	***									.257	***
15 to 19	62.2	9.8	72.0	3.0	25.0	28.0	100	164			56.0	5.5	56.5	19.7	18.8	46.5	100	218		
20 to 24	72.7	10.0	82.7	2.5	14.8	17.3	100	721			60.9	5.0	65.9	28.1	6.1	34.1	100	677		
25 to 29	88.9	6.0	94.9	0.5	4.6	5.1	100	612			53.0	2.8	55.8	41.3	3.0	45.8	100	608		
Marital status									.176	***									.545	***
Not married	74.8	9.9	84.7	1.7	13.6	15.3	100	1212			72.9	5.5	78.4	11.1	10.4	21.6	100	883		
Married	92.6	1.8	94.4	1.8	3.9	5.6	100	285			34.2	2.3	34.2	62.3	1.3	65.8	100	620		
Migration status									.135	***									.121	**
Non-migrant	75.7	9.3	85.0	2.0	13.0	15.0	100	1250			57.7	4.7	62.4	30.0	7.6	37.6	100	1241		
Migrant	90.7	3.6	94.3	0.4	5.3	5.7	100	247			53.6	2.1	55.7	41.5	2.8	44.3	100	289		
Place of birth									.098	*									.105	**
Rural	90.1	3.3	93.7	1.3	5.3	6.3	100	152			49.1	2.3	51.4	45.1	3.5	48.6	100	173		
Urban	76.8	8.9	85.7	1.8	12.5	14.3	100	1345			58.0	4.4	62.4	30.5	7.1	37.6	100	1330		
Ethnicity									.059	n.s									.132	**
Babesuma	76.8	10.4	87.2	1.4	11.5	12.8	100	444			46.8	4.2	51.0	40.3	8.7	49.0	100	402		
Java	79.8	7.0	86.8	1.9	11.4	13.2	100	702			59.6	4.2	63.8	29.7	6.4	36.2	100	760		
Others	76.5	8.6	85.1	2.0	12.9	14.9	100	349			63.0	4.1	67.1	28.2	4.7	32.9	100	341		
Religion of mother									.097	*									.117	**
Non-Moslem	89.6	4.3	93.9	1.2	4.9	6.1	100	163			72.4	3.2	75.6	20.5	3.8	24.4	100	185		
Moslem	76.8	8.8	85.6	1.8	12.6	14.4	100	1334			54.8	4.3	59.1	33.8	7.8	40.9	100	1318		
Total	78.2	8.4	86.6	1.7	11.8	13.5	100	1497			57.0	4.2	61.2	32.2	6.6	38.9	100	1503		

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

The pattern of relationship between parents' education and labour-force participation, high parental education leading to high participation in the labour force, is clear in the case of females (Table 4.4). Females with well-educated parents were more likely to be in the labour force category and in the 'job seeker' category in particular.

A similar pattern also occurs in the relationship to parental occupation (Table 4.4). It was striking that the proportion of daughters and sons of professional fathers who were seeking a job was high (both 12 per cent) compared to only 1.5 and 1 per cent of farmers' daughters and sons. Farmers' daughters in particular were the least likely to be in the 'working' category and the most likely to be in the 'housekeeper' or the 'others' category. Possibly, most of them were married, following their husbands who migrated to the cities, becoming housekeepers or the 'others' because they lacked financial and social supports to search for a job. The contrasting data on daughters of professionals and daughters of farmers show a class bias in the stratification process.

Educational attainment has a greater relationship with female's' participation in the labour force than with males'. For example, among males who have the highest educational levels, 85 per cent were in the working category, compared to 76 per cent of those who have some primary education, whereas for females, the comparison was 77 per cent to 49 per cent: the gap was almost 30 per cent. A similar influence is observable with regard to vocational training. For example, the proportion in the labour force category was 72 per cent for those who have training compared to 52 per cent for those with no training: the gap was 20 per cent.

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 also show a clear pattern regarding the 'others' category, especially among males. The proportion of the 'others' was higher when the

participation in the labour force was low. Males with the following characteristics were more likely to be in 'others' category and have low participation in the labour force: those who were younger, single, non-migrant, urban-born, Moslem, having lowest education qualification and without vocational training experience, with parents holding senior secondary education qualifications and parents in clerical occupations. So among the 'others' in this study, apparently a disproportionate number were dependent youth who have less skill and no 'household obligation'; from families that can afford to support them until a job turns up.

Table 4.4

Participation in the labour force by sex, parental background and education school leavers 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994.

	Males										Females									
	In the labour force			Not in the labour force			Total %	N	Phi	P	In the labour force			Not in the labour force			Total %	N	Phi	P
	Working	Job seekers	Total %	House-keepers	Others	Total %					Working	Job seekers	Total %	House keeper	Others	Total %				
Parents' educ.									.114	*									.161	**
< Primary	84.1	5.6	89.7	0.9	9.5	10.3	100	432			54.7	2.1	56.8	33.7	9.5	43.2	100	432		
Primary	78.5	9.0	87.5	1.4	11.1	12.5	100	632			55.3	1.9	57.2	36.1	6.8	42.8	100	632		
Junior S	72.3	8.5	80.8	2.5	16.8	19.2	100	280			55.6	6.4	62.0	31.2	6.8	38.0	100	280		
Senior S>	80.0	8.9	88.9	2.2	8.9	11.1	100	153			62.3	7.5	69.8	25.8	4.4	30.2	100	153		
Father's occ.									.141	*									.161	**
Professional	81.4	11.9	93.3	1.7	5.1	6.7	100	59			54.0	12.0	66.0	32.0	2.0	34.0	100	50		
Clerical	62.7	10.9	73.6	2.7	19.1	26.4	100	183			58.9	5.9	64.8	25.2	9.9	35.2	100	202		
Sales	79.3	9.1	88.4	1.6	10.1	11.6	100	386			60.4	2.7	63.2	32.1	4.8	36.9	100	333		
Services	79.5	8.0	87.5	2.0	10.5	12.5	100	200			58.6	5.6	64.2	29.8	6.1	35.8	100	198		
Production	77.6	8.0	85.6	1.6	12.8	14.4	100	553			56.6	3.8	60.4	31.3	8.3	39.6	100	553		
Farmers	92.0	1.1	93.1	1.1	5.7	6.9	100	87			51.5	1.5	53.0	44.7	2.3	47.0	100	132		
Education									.146	*									.244	***
<Primary	76.2	2.0	78.2	1.0	20.8	21.8	100	101			49.6	0.0	49.6	37.6	12.8	50.4	100	125		
Primary	82.7	8.4	91.1	0.6	8.4	8.9	100	179			45.4	1.6	47.0	45.0	8.0	53.0	100	251		
Junior S	77.8	6.2	86.4	1.1	14.9	13.8	100	275			49.5	3.1	52.6	38.8	8.7	47.4	100	289		
Senior S	76.4	9.8	86.2	2.2	11.6	13.8	100	813			61.8	6.0	67.8	27.1	5.2	32.2	100	717		
Tertiary	85.3	8.5	93.8	2.3	3.9	6.2	100	129			77.7	5.8	83.5	14.9	1.7	16.5	100	121		
Voc. training									.174	***									..223	***
Trained	79.0	9.9	88.9	4.4	6.7	11.1	100	476			65.8	6.5	72.3	24.0	3.7	27.7	100	682		
No training	77.8	7.6	70.2	0.5	14.1	29.8	100	1021			49.6	2.3	51.9	39.0	9.1	48.1	100	821		
Total	78.2	8.4	86.6	1.7	11.8	13.5	100	1497			57.0	4.2	61.2	32.2	6.6	38.9	100	1503		

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

4.5 Effects of demographic, socio-environmental, parental and educational factors on participation in the labour force: regression results

4.5.1 Direct effect

The results of logistic regressions (Tables 4.5 and 4.6, both in Model E) show that the independent variables seem to be more powerful in predicting the labour-force participation of females than of males (shown in the model chi-squares). The results show a completely different picture in regard to the role of education. For males, education has no significant effect on participation while for females; education – both levels and having or not having vocational training – is significant. Another striking difference was that the strongest predictor for labour force participation for males was natural factors (as measured by age), while for females, it was institutional factors (as measured by marital status). For males, participation in the labour force seems to be a matter of nature: as they reach an appropriate age level, entering the labour force for males seems to be necessary (Figure 4.1 shows that school leavers aged 29 years were almost certainly (97.8 per cent) participating in the labour force, while those who aged 15 years, the probability of participation in labour force was only 72.87 per cent[2]).

Another contrasting picture between males and females is the effect of ethnic background on participation. Compared to Javanese and 'other' ethnic group, the Babesuma males were more likely to participate in the labour force (though this was not statistically significant), but for the females, to be born in the Babesuma ethnic group meant to be significantly less likely to participate in the labour force. This indicates that in the cultural environment of the Babesuma ethnic group, sexual

[2] Based on the parameter estimates shown in Model E -Table 4.5, the effect of each variable on the probability of participation in the labour force can be calculated. For example, the probability of participation in the labour force of males aged 15 is: the log odds = -2.0303 + (.2013 X 15)= .9892 The probability = exp.(.9892) /(1 + exp. (.9892)= .7287. The results of the calculation were presented in several graphs (selected variables).

division in labour-force participation is more pronounced. This may also reflect their religious beliefs, especially Islamic orthodoxy (Nahdlatul Ulama),

Table 4.5

Logistic regression of the probability of participation in the labour force among male school leavers 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994. (The omitted categories were coded 1).

Independent Variables.	cases	Regression Coefficient					Standard-ized
		Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	
Age	1497	.21***	.21***	.21***	.21***	.20***	.68***
		(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.10)
Number of sibl.	1497	-.01	-.01	.01	.01	.01	.02
		(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.08)
Place of birth							
Rural	152						
Urban	1345		-.82*	-.50	-.51	.22	.07
			(.34)	(.37)	(.37)	(.46)	(.14)
Region							
Jakarta	914		-.33*	-.31*	-.31*	-.32*	-.32*
			(.14)	(.14)	(.14)	(.14)	(.14)
Semarang	235		.38*	.33*	.32*	.33	.33
			(.19)	(.19)	(.19)	(.19)	(.19)
Surabaya	348						
Ethnicity							
Babesuma	444		.27*	.24	.24	.23	.23
			(.12)	(.12)	(.12)	(.12)	(.12)
Javanese	702		-.02	-.01	-.01	.01	.01
			(.12)	(.12)	(.12)	(.12)	(.12)
Others	349						
Rel. of mother							
Non-Moslem	163						
Moslem	1116		-.75*	-.75*	-.76*	-.77*	-.24*
			(.37)	(.37)	(.38)	(.18)	(.11)
Parents' educ.	1497			-.02	-.02	-.02	-.07
				(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.09)
Father's occ.							
Professional	59			.29	.31	.31	.31
				(.46)	(.46)	(.46)	(.46)
Clerical	183			-.69*	-.61*	-.62*	-.62*
				(.20)	(.21)	(.21)	(.21)
Trades	386			.11	.11	.14	.14
				(.19)	(.19)	(.19)	(.19)
Services	126			-.07	-.07	.01	.01
				(.26)	(.26)	(.26)	(.26)
Production	627			-.14	-.01	-.08	-.08
				(.17)	(.17)	(.17)	(.17)
Farmers	87						
Education	1497				-.01	-.01	-.02
					(.02)	(.02)	(.10)
Voc. training							
No training	1021						
Trained	476				.18	.19	..09
					(.19)	(.19)	(.09)
Marital status							
Single	1212						
Married	285					.31	.14
						(.29)	(.13)
Migration status							
Non-migrant	1250						
Migrant	247					1.03*	.39*
						(.15)	(.15)
Constant		-2.9582	-1.3472	-1.6187	-1.5236	-2.0303	+2.3744
-2 Log Likelihood	1168.17	1088.77	1063.30	1049.28	1048.43	1039.44	1039.44
Model Chi-square		79.40***	104.86***	118.88***	119.74***	128.72***	128.72***
Improvement		79.40***	25.45***	14.02	1.03	8.03***	

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994

( ), *, ** and *** see note on Table 3.3.

Figure 4.1

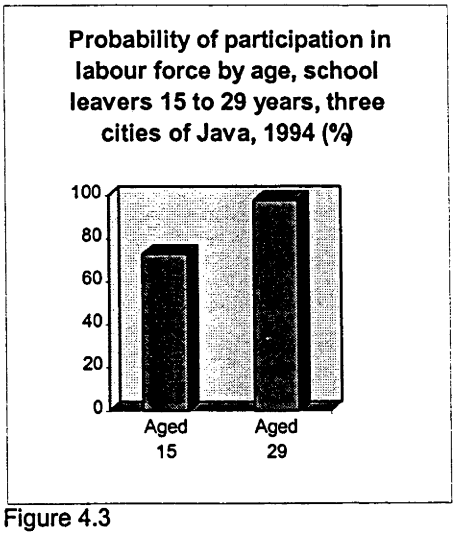


Figure 4.2

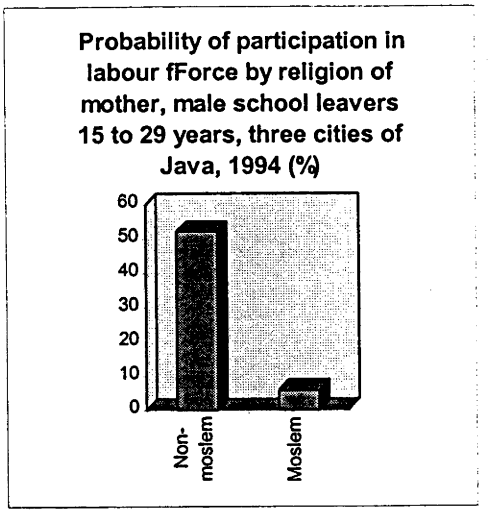


Figure 4.3

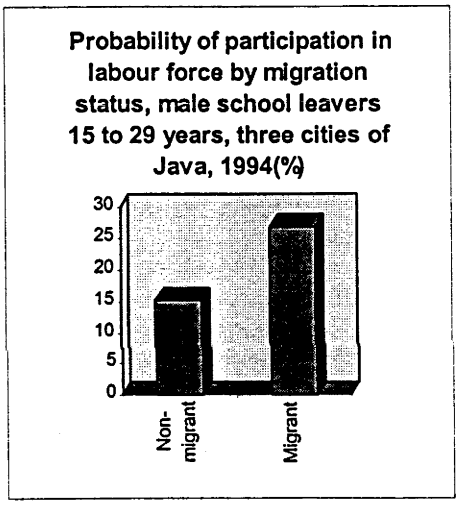


Figure 4.4

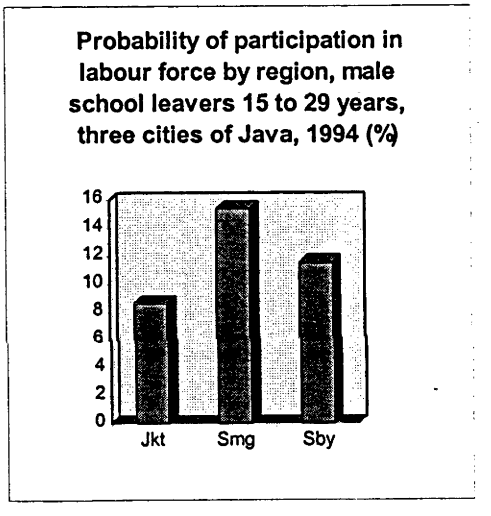
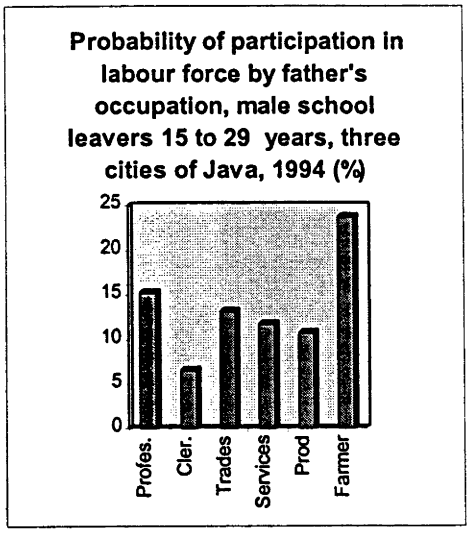


Figure 4.5



Source: Table 4.5.

since for females of the Babesuma ethnic groups, work which involves contact or travel with adult males outside their limited kinship line (*muhrim,* Arabic) is prohibited. Another possible explanation is cultural factors by which societal norms in the Babesuma societies reproduce sexual division of labour: males are workers, females are housekeepers. This situation reduces the possibility of females joining the labour force.

On the other hand, males' participation, besides being dependent on their age, also tends to be more bound than that of females to various socio-environmental factors: religion of mother (Figure 4.2), migration status (Figure 4.3) and region (Figure 4.4). Possibly, different participation among males with different religion of mother, migration status, and region resulted from different availability of social contact to employers, provided through religious affiliation or ethnic network; different pressures of migration; and the availability of job opportunities in the regions. Males' participation was also significantly influenced by father's occupation (Figure 4.5)

Those who were migrants have a higher probability of entering the labour force (Figure 4.3), since most migrants came into the cities to work. Jakarta recorded the lowest participation of males (Figure 4.4). Jakarta, where formal sector activities are more dominant, may require a long bureaucratic delay for finishing applications and may provide a longer time for the applicants to take several courses or activities which 'push' them into non-labour force categories. A long bureaucratic delay that puts the applicants into non-labour force categories such as 'discouraged' or 'taking several courses' may also be experienced by job seekers where parents have clerical occupations, since most of them were likely to prefer a job in the bureaucracy where job vacancies are very limited especially after

the 'zero growth policy' was applied. This has resulted in lower participation in the labour force among them (Figure 4.5).

A higher participation in the labour force among non-Moslem males may be related to the fact that in the history of Java in particular, non-Moslems, mostly Christians of whom around half are Chinese, have a long association with the development of the modern sector. So the parents of non-Moslem young people could smooth the way to their sons' employment because of a wider contact with potential employers in the modern sector than the parents of young Moslems (see Chapter 7). It is understandable that in this context and in a high unemployment situation in particular, contact with employers provided by religious affiliation have very different effects on the probability of participation in the labour force. Children of Chinese people in particular, since most of their parents were traders, were easily involved into their parents' economic activities. As shown in Figure 4.2, the probability of participation in the labour force of young people with a Moslem mother was only 6 per cent, while for those with a non-Moslem mother it was 52 per cent: the gap was 46 per cent. The gap seems too wide, but note that the calculation was based on the assumption that everything else was equal.

The implication may be that for males, as they reach an appropriate age, entering the labour force is essential. The delay seems to depend largely on the availability of chance, pressure from their social context, aspiration and support – indicated by religion of mother, the availability of job opportunities in the region, migration status and father's occupation.

For females, on the other hand, participation in the labour market seems to be optional and conditional. The cost and benefit analysis for themselves and for the family as a whole may be related largely to their marital status and the capacity,

including education, vocational achievement and culture or ethnicity, of daughters themselves to benefit from the labour market.

As marriage is entered, sex roles have to be decided: females were less likely to participate in the labour force if they were married. With high educational qualifications achieved, they may have changed their views on sex roles in the family, besides, improving their access to appropriate jobs. To be out of the labour force may contradict with their new values and lose the return of investment in their education.

The effect of education was consistent. For example, assuming that everything else was equal, the probability of entering the labour force for females with tertiary education was around 20 per cent above those who had primary education (Figure 4.7). Particular note must also be made of vocational training. For females, it has an independent and greater difference in the effect than years of schooling and almost equals the effect of marital status on participation in the labour force (see Figure 4.6 and 4.8). Those with vocational training were 40 per cent more likely to participate in the labour force than those with no training. This suggests that in circumstances of severe competition, which usually marginalizes women to be housekeepers, vocational training give better competitive advantages to enter the labour market. It is also undertaken, of course, specifically to help them find jobs, so it is hardly surprising that the labour-force participation of those with vocational training would be higher.

Table 4.6
Logistic regression of the probability of participation in the labour force among female school leavers 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994 (The omitted categories were coded 1).

Independent Variables.	Cases	Regression Coefficient					Standard-ized
		Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	
Age	1503	-.04*	-.05**	-.06***	-..09***	.03	.09
		(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.07)
Number of sibl.	1503	-.02	-.001	.005	.001	-.04	-.09
		(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.06)
Place of birth							
Rural	173						
Urban	1330		.48**	.35*	.24	.10	.03
			(.16)	(.09)	(.20)	(.27)	(.08)
Region							
Jakarta	836		-.02	-.07	-.04	-.09	-.09
			(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.10)	(.10)
Semarang	265		.14	.17	.13	.11	.11
			(.10)	(.10)	(.11)	(.12)	(.12)
Surabaya	402						
Ethnicity							
Babesuma	402		-.35**	-.28**	-.22*	-.21*	-.21*
			(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.10)	(.10)
Javanese	760		.23*	.20*	.14	.09	.09
			(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)
Others	341						
Rel. of mother							
Non-Moslem	185						
Moslem	1310		-.59*	-.49*	-.43*	-.15	-.05
			(.20)	(.21)	(.21)	(.23)	(.07)
Parents' educ.	1503			.07**	.01	-.001	-.001
				(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.07)
Father's occ.							
Professional	50			-.05	-.08	.04	.04
				(.26)	(.27)	(.29)	(.29)
Clerical	202			.01	-.09	-.20	-.20
				(.14)	(.15)	(.17)	(.17)
Trades	333			.06	.02	-.06	-.06
				(.12)	(.13)	(.14)	(.14)
Services	118			.03	.05	.02	.02
				(.18)	(.18)	(.20)	(.20)
Production	633			-.02	-.01	-.09	-.09
				(.10)	(.11)	(.12)	(.12)
Farmers	132						
Education	1503				.09***	.09***	.37***
					(.01)	(.01)	(.07)
Voc. training							
No training	821						
Trained	682				.58***	.38***	.18***
					(.13)	(.13)	(.06)
Marital status							
Single	883						
Married	620					-2.00***	-.92***
						(.14)	(.06)
Migration status							
Non-migrant	1214						
Migrant	289					.06	.02
						(.22)	(.08)
Constant		1.5478	1.8204	1.5130	1.4882	-.1984	.8960
-2 Log Likelihood	1954.66	1946.48	1897.40	1881.60	1811.47	1587.54	1587.54
Model Chi-square		8.18*	57.25***	73.06***	143.19***	367.99***	367.99***
Improvement		8.18*	49.66**	15.81*	70.13***	223.80***	

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
( ), *, ** and *** see note on Table 3.3.

Figure 4.6

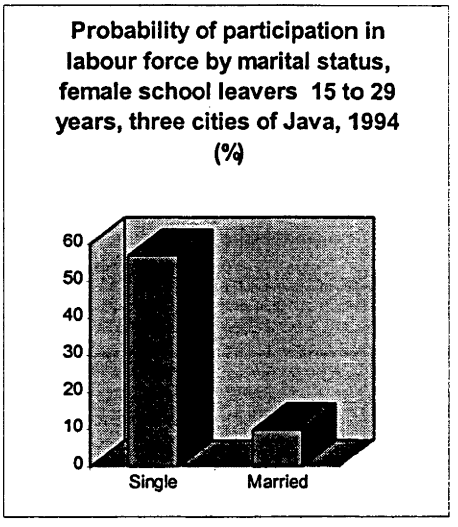


Figure 4.7

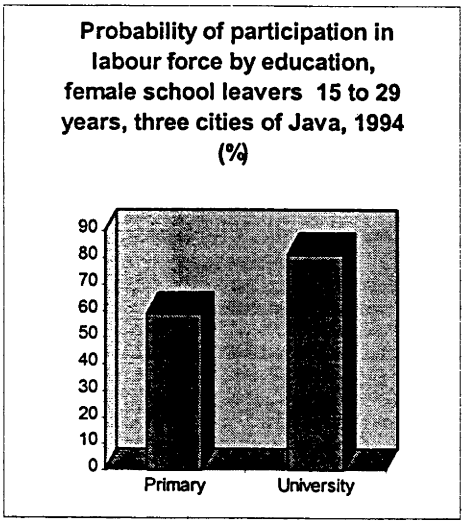


Figure 4.8

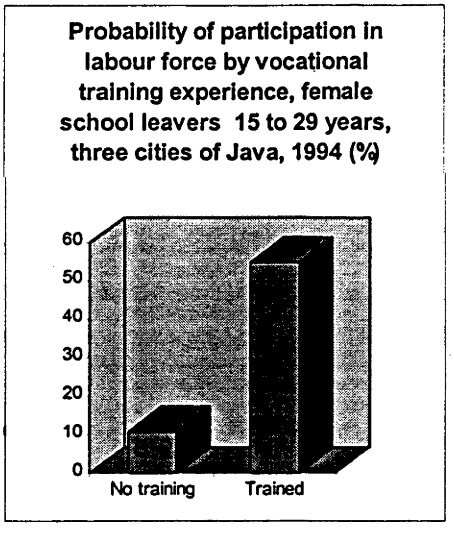
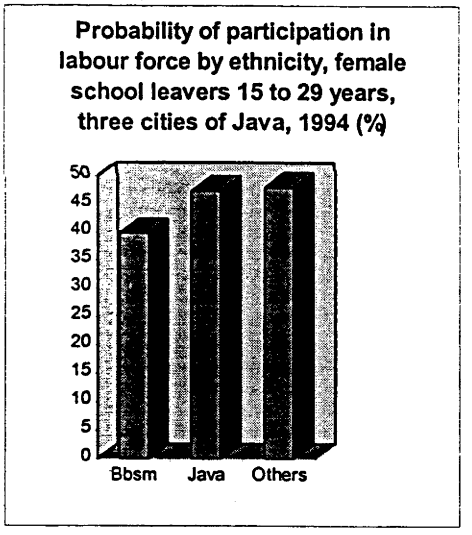


Figure 4.9



Source: Table 4.6.

4.5.2 Indirect effects

Based on Tables 4.5 and 4.6, Tables 4.7 and 4.8 show that for males, only place of birth and father's occupation have considerable indirect effects, while for females, besides father's occupation, other factors such as place of birth, ethnicity and religion of mother also have considerable indirect effects on their participation in the labour force. Which variable was mediating the indirect effect of these variables? We have to return to Tables 4.5 and 4.6. to see the path.

As shown in Table 4.5, the coefficients of place of birth and father's occupation (see clerical category) were decreasing from -.50 (Model C) to .22 (Model E, place of birth) and from -.69 to -.62 (father's occupation, clerical), after marital and migration statuses were put in the model. For males, the indirect effect of place of birth was operating through father's occupation and subsequently these two variables were operating through marital and especially migration statuses. As indicated in Table 4.5, those who were born in rural areas, sons of farmers and migrants were more likely to participate in the labour force. So the path seems to reflect the likelihood of sons of rural farmers who migrate to urban areas to participate more than those who were non-migrants. In general, however, other significant variables operate in a direct way.

On the other hand, for females, the path was more complex. As shown in Table 4.6, the indirect effects of place of birth, ethnicity and religion of mother were mediated through parental socio-economic status, educational achievement (education and vocational training) and life contingencies, especially marital status. The effects of parental and vocational training factors were also operating through this life contingency. So, based on this situation, labour force participation of fem

Table 4.7

Total effect, direct effect and indirect effect[a] of variables on participation in the labour force of males 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994

Independent variables	Total effect	Direct effect	Indirect effect	Indirect / total effect
Age	.21***	.20***	-.01	.05
Siblings	-.01	-.01	.00	.00
Place of birth	-.82*	.22	-1.04	1.27
Region				
Jakarta	-.33*	-.32*	-.01	.03
Semarang	.38*	.33*	-.05	.13
Ethnicity				
Babesuma	.27	.23	-.04	.14
Javanese	-.02	.01	-.01	.50
Religion of mother	-.75*	-.77*	-.02	.03
Education of parents	-.02	-.02	.00	.00
Father's occupation				
Professional	.29	.31	+.02	.07
Clerical	-.69	-.62	-.07	.10
Trades	.11	.14	+.03	.27
Services	-.07	.01	-.06	.86
Production	-.14	-.08	-.06	.42
Farmers				
Education	-.01	-.01	.00	.00
Vocational training	.18	.18	.00	.00
Marital status	.31	.31	.00	.00
Migration status	1.03	1.03	.00	.00

Source: Table 4.5.

[a] See note on Table 3.4.

Table 4.8

Total effect, direct effect and indirect effect[a] of variables on participation in the labour force of females 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994.

Independent variables	Total effect	Direct effect	Indirect effect	Indirect / total effect
Age	-.04*	-.09***	+.05	1.25
Siblings	-.02	-.04	+.02	1.00
Place of birth	.48**	.10	-.38	.79
Region				
Jakarta	-.02	-.09	+.07	3.50
Semarang	.14	.11	-.03	.21
Ethnicity				
Babesuma	-.35**	-.21*	-.14	.40
Javanese	.23*	.09	-.14	.61
Religion of mother	-.59*	-.15	-.44	.75
Education of parents	.07**	-.001	-.07	1.00
Father's occupation				
Professional	-.05	.04	-.09	1.80
Clerical	.01	-.20	-.21	21.00
Trades	.06	-.06	-.12	2.00
Services	.03	.02	-.01	.33
Production	-.02	-.09	-.07	3.50
Education	.09***	.09***	.00	.00
Vocational training	.58***	.58***	.00	.00
Marital status	-2.00***	-2.00***	.00	.00
Migration status	.06	.06	.00	.00

Source: Table 4.6.

[a] See note on Table 3.4.

ales seems to depend on a more complex set of conditions than that of males. For females, there seem to be more prerequisites and barriers to entering the labour market. Nevertheless, since a large proportion of the indirect effects (see last column of Table 4.8) of a number of factors – place of birth, ethnicity, religion of mother, and parents' education – were mediated through educational factors and marital status, and educational factors and marital status have large direct effects (see improvements in the model Chi-square, last row of Model E, Table 4.6), therefore, education and marital status were among the most powerful predictors of females' participation in the labour force.

The roles of education and marital status in mediating the indirect effects of ethnicity, religion of mother, and parents' education variables on females' participation in the labour force mean that education and marital status transmit socio-economic and cultural inequality into labour market inequality: females of

the most 'modernized' group (Non-Babesuma, with non-Moslem mother and parents with higher education) have a greater chance to participate in the labour force. The disappearance of the effect of parents' education after educational variables were put in the model suggests that the effect of parents' education on labour-force participation of daughters was almost totally transmitted by the education of daughters. Based on this situation, therefore, in the three cities, socio-economic (parents' education) inequality was transmitted into their younger generation through inequality in education, especially of daughters, and was then manifested in the differentials of their participation in the labour force. In this sense, differentials in labour-force participation of females are greatly determined by social class of origin.

Nevertheless, since the total effect of education (.09) was greater than the total effect of parents' education (.07), and vocational training also has independent and significant direct effects on labour-force participation of females, education has its own value added beyond the influence of social origin, although small, for improving the chance of females to participate in the labour force.

Besides social class of origin, ethnic background was also a source of differentials in labour-force participation of females. Ethnicity, especially in the case of Babesuma ethnic groups, has an independent direct effect on labour-force participation of females. This situation indicates that there was a cultural effect on the participation of females in the labour force in the area.

In short, with this path analysis, we can see that in regard to males, the process of stratification through participation in the labour force was determined by several variables which were operating largely in direct ways. On the other hand, for females, the path was more complex. Nevertheless, the central variable that

determined the process of stratification through participation in the labour force was parents' education. Parents' education is central, because it transmits religious and ethnic influence as well as determines the other key variables, marital status, vocational training, and education, that have great direct effects on participation in the labour force.

4.6. Summary of findings

From the above discussion and explanation of the logistic regression findings, there are six conclusions:

First, the participation of males in the labour force was considerably higher than that of females.

Second, the strongest predictor of male participation in the labour force was age, followed by religion of mother, region, migration status, and father's occupation. For females, the strongest predictor was marital status, followed by education, vocational training and ethnicity. The effects of the variables were more striking for females, since three out of four variables – marital status, education and vocational training – have highly significant effects on participation in the labour force; for males, although four variables were significant, only one, age, has a highly significant effect on participation in the labour force.

Third, the significant effect of education and vocational training for females and on the contrary the insignificant effect of these variables for males show that human capital investment in females, especially education, was crucial for bringing females into economic activities. On the other hand, although males receive much more education or human capital investment than females (Chapter 3), their educational capital is less important in determining their participation in

the workforce. Societal norms expect all males to work irrespective of their educational and training background, whereas this is not the case for females.

Fourth, after males finish their education, whether or not they participate in the labour force depends not only on their age, but also on their socio-environmental background (religion of mother, migration status and region) and father's occupation. This situation raises the question of the importance of external factors that could provide different job opportunities, social network, and support to males in the stratification process through their participation in the labour force.

Fifth, beside class of origin, cultural dimension is also important to explain labour-force participation of females in this area, since ethnicity, especially for Babesuma, also has direct and independent effects from the other variables, including marital status, on the labour-force participation of females. Compared to Javanese and other ethnic groups, females from the Babesuma ethnic group were less likely, and the males, were slightly more likely, to participate in the labour force than the females of non-Babesuma ethnic groups[3]. This implies that in the Babesuma ethnic groups, sexual division of labour, which prevents females from participation in the labour force, was stronger than in other groups. Nevertheless, the appropriate explanations for this, such as specific religious belief and strong patriarchy, need to be verified.

Sixth, the roles of education and marital status in mediating the indirect effects of ethnicity, religion of mother, and parents' education variables on females' participation in the labour force indicate that education and marital status transmit socio-economic and cultural inequality into labour market inequality:

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3 The 1987 and 1991 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas) data indicate that labour-force participation rates of females in the province where most Bantenese, Betawinese, and Sundanese (Babesu) people live – West Java and Jakarta— recorded lowest (West Java =35.8 9 per cent, 1987, and 33.3 per cent, 1991, and Jakarta=-22.6 per cent, 1997, and 28 per cent, 1991, while the national averages were 44.8 and 43.4 per cent (Ministry of Manpower, 1993: Table 72).

females of the most 'modernized' groups (non-Babesuma, with non-Moslem mother and with educated parents) have a greater chance to participate in the labour force. The role of educational factors in mediating the entire effect of parents' education on the participation of their daughters in the labour force indicates that, in the three cities, schooling perpetuates socio-economic inequality (of parents' education) to the next generation, daughters in particular, and this perpetuation is then manifested in the differentials of labour-force participation of their daughters. This means that class is one of the underlying factors of the differentials in labour-force participation of females. Differentials in the participation in the labour force among females with different educational qualifications is largely a reflection of differentials in parental socio-economic status (parents' education).

This argument appears to be reasonable for another reason. In this area, social class of origin (father's occupation and especially parents' education) has great independent effects on both daughter's education (preparation before entering the labour market, Chapter 3) and occupation (job allocation, as shown in Chapter 8). In this regard, Papanek's (1985) opinion seems appropriate: that a key factor of female participation in the labour force, the interplay between family structure and labour market, can be analyzed through, but not merely on social class.

Indeed, in this area, analysis of the interplay between family structure and the labour market also needs to consider factors outside the social class factor, because ethnicity in particular has a direct effect on female participation in the labour force, and family structure is also apparently bound to ethnicity. Nevertheless, social class (parents' education) appears to be more trivial for explaining females' participation in the labour force, since parents' education was also mediating the indirect effects of ethnicity and mother's religion on females'

participation in the labour force. In this regard, cultural reproduction theory (Bourdieu, 1986) seems to be more powerful than human capital theory in explaining the differentials of females' labour-force participation in this areas. This is because cultural reproduction theory explains the 'deep structure' (class inequality) of the 'surface structures' (educational inequality and then participation and occupational inequality) of females: phenomena that were then explained by human capital theory.

On the basis of these explanations, the question of who obtained more benefits from structural change in the economy through greater participation in the labour force can be answered.

CHAPTER 5
FAMILY BACKGROUND, EDUCATION AND JOB-SEEKING BEHAVIOUR

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 showed how parental, individual and socio-environmental factors, along with sex and education attainment, differentiate school leavers' participation in the labour force. These factors, especially family background and education were considered as socialization force for young people in the transition from school to employment. Chapter 4, however, is only a glimpse of the objective side of young people in different labour force statuses: in or out of the labour force. The subjective side, such as aspirations, attitudes and job search behaviour, were still neglected in the analysis. This chapter studies job-seeking behaviour: whether the individual characteristics, parental and educational and socio-environmental background of school leavers' influence their search behaviour.

Different job search behaviour may reflect different potential, and constraints faced by school-leavers with different characteristics and socio-economic background. Therefore, it is important that to understand differing search behaviours as one of the mechanisms of stratification, revealing the need for better policies in coping with unemployment and under-employment among the young people.

5.2 Literature review

There are at least two kinds of theories regarding job-seeking behaviour, first theories developed by economists and second, theories developed by sociologists.

Economic theories, according to Fergus (1992:14-31), can be divided into at least four theories or models: random search model, systematic search model,

intensity search model and spatial search model. On the other hand sociological theories can be divided into at least three theories: socialization theory, occupational structure theory and resource conversion theory.

Economic theories emphasize the role of the reservation wage, the cost of job search (opportunity cost included) and possible approaches or strategies that could minimize the cost in obtaining the reservation wage. The relationship between the characteristics of job-seekers on the one hand and on the other hand the reservation wage, the cost of job search and the possible approaches taken are also considered in economic theories. Nevertheless, the effect of the social background on search behaviour is less emphasized. Sociological theories, on the other hand, emphasize the role of social class reproduction process, social proximity of job opportunities that are available, and the socialization process.

5.2.1Theories developed by economists

Among theories developed by economists, random search theory (Mortensen, 1970) assumes that the job seeker has a wage reservation or expectation and searches for jobs randomly. His reservation wage is critical in determining whether to continue or to stop searching if a job is offered with a certain wage level. If the wage offered is lower than the reservation wage level, job seekers will continue the search. The higher the reservation wage the longer the likely search. The decision to continue the search depends largely on the expected marginal return from additional job options and their wage dispersion compared to the marginal cost of the additional search.

On the other hand, systematic search theory (Salop, 1973), suggests that without wage reservation, job seekers gather information, contact firms and list the wage offers systematically, from high to low, and subsequently accept the highest

wage offer. By gathering more information, job seekers can obtain a longer list with a wider range of wage offers. Lengthening the unemployment period to gather additional information, therefore, is regarded as beneficial, because with a wider range of wage offers obtained from additional search, job seekers expect a higher return from a higher wage offer. Obtaining reliable and high-value information, which directs job seekers toward the potential employers, therefore, is important, but costly. Whether to continue or to stop searching is a trade-off between additional cost and expected return from the coming job opportunity. These theories imply that since job options and the wage dispersion ware largely determined by the skill possessed by job seekers, educated job seekers are more likely to continue their search than less educated job seekers, because, with additional search, educated job seekers will achieve relatively greater marginal returns from a higher wage dispersion relative to search cost and earnings forgone than will less educated job seekers.

According to human capital theory, investment in human capital, time spent (investment) to search for knowledge, in this case job information, is likely to decrease as age increases, for two reasons: first, the remaining periods or the present value of future returns will decrease with age and second, the cost or the earnings forgone tends to increase with age (Becker, 1975:65). This theory implies that a greater marginal return is also expected from a longer stay in the job, therefore, job seekers who stay longer in the job (younger rather than older, male than female, single than married job seekers) tend to search longer (Black, 1981:131). This theory also implies that those who have better economic and social support for job search are more likely to search longer. So two important factors in determining search behaviour are the expected benefits and affordability

of continuing the search among searchers with different characteristics and socio-economic backgrounds.

The theories above, however, have only two options: accept a job offer (become employed) or continue searching (unemployed). There is no space for another strategy: continue searching while employed. The rationale of the reservation wage (the first theory) and the cost of search to gather information (the second theory) could open the third option as an optimal strategy (Black, 1981:130). With this optimal strategy, job seekers maintain the reservation wage which may not have been achieved, but is still kept in mind; in order to reduce the opportunity cost and to finance the additional cost of search for alternative jobs, job seekers accept a job and continue seeking an alternative job. By reducing the opportunity cost, however, this strategy inevitably reduces the intensity of the search (Barron and Mellow, 1981).

Kahn and Low (1984) distinguish three search choices among the labour force: employed not searching for job, on-the-job search and unemployed search, and assume that the last is more intensive than the previous one. The theory implies that people with high a reservation wage are more likely to search intensively, therefore educated people are more likely to stay unemployed for intensive seeking than less educated people. Second, compared with less educated people, educated people were more likely to search while employed than to stop the search (employed not seeking job). Searching for a job while employed was more probable among the educated than the less educated, for two reasons: the educated people have a high reservation wage and have a wider range of job options, therefore additional search tends to be beneficial. On the other hand, high selectivity in their searches makes them 'choosy' and narrows the possibility of

finding a matched job. In a situation of high unemployment among educated people, where available job opportunities for the educated are rare, and the probability of finding a matched job tends to be remote. So the educated people may take a mismatched job temporarily, and continue searching for a job while employed. The less educated people on the other hand are less likely to face mismatched jobs since they have a lower reservation wage which results in less 'censorship' in seeking a job, so once they are employed, searching for an alternative job is less likely.

As a strategy, however, the job seeker may also drop out of the labour force temporarily (Barron and Mellow, 1981:428). This strategy seems to be beneficial and affordable for a limited number of job seekers, for example, those who can depend on financial support from other people and those who can continue their schooling or take a course.

The fourth theory, spatial search theory, suggests that to reduce time and travel cost devoted to a search in a particular place, job seekers may choose to migrate to a particular place which is expected to have a higher density of job opportunities.

Banerjee and Bucci (1995:571-574), in their study of whether or not migrant *workers* in India continue the search – so the unemployed and those who are out of the labour force are excluded from the analysis – listed several explanatory variables assumed to influence workers to continue the search: potential return to search, education, age, marital status, job tenure, sector of employment, caste and place of origin.

Nevertheless, in the theories developed by economists above, the roles of parental background, the importance of 'social identity' of the job pursued, and

life contingencies of individuals were less emphasized. These theories seem likely to make only a limited contribution in explaining the transition of youth in particular, because, according to Mare, Winship and Kubitschek (1984:329-334), differences in the transformation of youth from dependence to independence largely depend on different supports from their parents and different 'timing' due to different life contingencies, particularly in regard to their life cycle.

5.2.2 Sociological theories

Among sociologists, there are three competing theories regarding the issue of job search behaviour.

The first is opportunity structure theory (Roberts, 1968), which emphasizes the role of external factors: job opportunities in the labour market. People do not choose but simply adapt themselves to the available job opportunities. However, the job opportunities available to each person are not distributed randomly. Since each person has a different position in the social structure and, consequently, in the labour market structure, job seekers have their own impressions of occupations appropriate to them and have their own 'social proximity' to the job or type of job opportunity. Occupational socialization rather than home background and educational experience, according to Roberts (1984:42; 1995:4) is a perennial issue of transition among school leavers that contributes much to the smoothness of the transition. Young people can adapt themselves to the occupation available in the labour market for several reasons. Free occupational choice demands that workers be responsible for their choices. The role of work, as a central element in forming their social identities, pushes them to accept a job of some kind and limited knowledge about occupations induces job seekers to accept job offers (1984:42). This theory implies that search behaviour

is largely determined by the availability of job opportunities for each social segment. Since information on job opportunities is not available, it is not possible here to verify this theory.

The second theory is socialization theory (Ashton and Field: 1978), which postulates that the correspondence or conversely the discrepancy of experience in the family and school with the world of work is the key factor in the 'smoothness' or conversely 'unsmoothness' of the transition. Experience in the family and society as well as schooling are considered as socialization forces which teach about potential roles and functions in the social and occupational hierarchy. Schooling, family background and community or labour market therefore are assumed to have a strong influence on work attitudes in which occupational aspirations and job-seeking behaviour are implied. Normative orientation toward jobs or work attitude, according to Furlong (1992:78-107) is an important factor for understanding young people's ways of experiencing unemployment and employment.

According to Furlong, different socialization brings about at least two types of orientation toward jobs (1992:78): the first, work is central in the overall self-concept, and the second, work is only peripheral in the overall self-concept. The first orientation sees a job as an important source of self-fulfillment and satisfaction while the second sees that a job is only a means to an end: to obtain income. The first work attitude brings about persistence in searching for a job until the desired job is found, while the second is less persistent in searching for the desired job. In this regard, Ashton and Field (1978) and Willis (1977) argue that the origin of differences in work attitudes is social class of origin. The work attitude of the middle class, as Ashton and Field have suggested, seems to

represent the 'Protestant work ethic' which sees a particular job as being taken because the job 'called' a person; the job is a way of fulfilling the moral duty. Therefore, since the job is central in the overall self-concept, the job aspired to be almost irreplaceable. This suggests that middle-class children will be more persistent, showing more endurance in the length of time and cost, in searching for the desired job. Willis (1977:92-113) identified on the other hand the 'class-culture' of the working-class children as 'counter school culture' that provides 'self-preparation' and informality toward jobs, and a view that any job is an 'instrument' or 'medium' for expressing their 'masculinity and toughness', making working-class children less 'choosy' as well as lacking commitment to any job.

Furlong (1992:99-101) argued for class-division of work attitudes. Young people from both low and high socio-economic background can have the same commitment to work but for different reasons: the jobs are regarded as either 'central' or 'peripheral' to their self-concept. Work attitudes are shaped by a combination of factors, which form 'individual-experience', either experience of social class, school experience, sex, or opportunities and experience in the labour market. Searching for a job is regarded as searching for 'self- identity'. As a result, there is no universal trajectory and pattern of search behaviour.

One of the effects of the socialization process, according to Furlong (1987:61-66), is that school leavers do not accept just any job offer in the market. One of the signs of keeping up their aspirations was their 'resistance' toward the existing job which he called 'image maintenance strategy' (a broader concept than reservation wage), which resulted in several kinds of search behaviour, such as entering a particular job temporarily, or simply being unemployed or out of the

labour force temporarily, searching for a job while employed, or continuing their education and enrolling in vocational training.

However, the problem of this image maintenance strategy concerns individuals who cannot achieve the expected occupation. For how long can they keep alive their initial occupational aspiration? The availability of resources, although it was recognized as a factor that influences the continuation of job search, was less emphasized in the above two theories.

The third theory, resource conversion or social reproduction theory of Bourdieu (1986) clearly emphasizes the role of resources. The most relevant of his ideas to this study is the effect of mass education on the interruption of social class (path) trajectories of school leavers. Search behaviour was regarded as a practice of maintaining or improving their position in the class structure, which depends on the interaction between their habitus (way of thinking) and capitals within a given field of society. His formula is: (Habitus x Capital) + Field = Practice (Bourdieu, 1986:101). Habitus is in the center of the relationship between the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste). In social world, individual's habitus can be seen as an individual's life style. Job seekers were moving into their class trajectories in non-random way because their patterns of life style and way of thinking, resources (capital) and state instrument of social reproduction, such as 'norms' in the recruitment or inheritance law in a given field of society, all structure the opportunities.

Unlike economic theories explained in the previous section, search behaviour is seen by this theory as resource conversion practice as part of social struggle and social reproduction (Okano, 1992). Searching for a job (transition

from school to work) was seen as the most important factor in the transformation of social structures (Bourdieu (1986:147), because mass education can create the interrupted path of hoped-for-social class trajectories for children of high class background. According to Bourdieu (1986:135-151), children with high social background can escape from downclassing, because, with greater resources, thus greater social space, their parents can rebuild the interrupted path of their hoped-for class trajectories through the conversion of cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital and through the creation or redefinition of jobs, individually and communally: jobs that have not yet acquired the rigidity of the older bureaucratic professions and require social qualification rather than 'official qualification" (1986:151-152). This theory, in contrast to human capital and search theory, suggests that those whose parents have high socio-economic status are likely to have smoother transition (have shorter unemployment period) and obtain a job that matches their class trajectories. On the other hand, children of parents with low socio-economic background face mass-disillusionment resulting from structural mismatch between aspirations shaped by mass education and the real probabilities of getting a 'decent' job (1986:144).

In regard to the effect of education on search intensity, reproduction theory of Bourdieu emphasizes non-constant relationship between education and search intensity. Unlike human capital theory –random, systematic as well as maximum search theories in particular—which emphasizes the constant (positive) relationship between educational qualification and search intensity, Bourdieu emphasizes relative relationship between them, since the value of education depends on the habitus and overall volume and composition of resources and the social context of the job seekers. The three factors structure the *fields of*

possibility for converting the qualification into market currency and thus distinguish their search behaviour. The value of education is also *relative* to the *numerus clausus* (rarity of the particular level of education), and the socio-economic barriers of the job seekers. Therefore, those with a narrow field of possibility are likely to find a greater devaluation of their educational qualification and subsequently experience longer search. The counter-culture of the working class with relatively high educational qualification in this sense is a response to 'the refusal of social finitude' that is manifest in their decision to remain unemployed as a social strike (1986:143). The disparity between job aspiration and job opportunity is structural reality that depends on the rarity of educational qualification and the social origin (Bourdieu, 1986:145). Based on this argument, therefore, this theory implies that to continue searching for job (while employed or unemployed) indicates the disappearance of the rarity of educational qualification and inadequate socio-economic support (coercion) rather than being a sign of abundant options or luxury.

Although Bourdieu's social reproduction or resource conversion theory seems to be more appropriate to identify the pattern of search behaviour through qualitative study (Chapter 7), it is useful to recall that the pattern of search behaviour in this chapter is only a rough picture which simplifies the complexity of search behaviour as part of the process of social stratification.

From theories developed by both economists and sociologists, it is clear that there are different kinds of search behaviour, which reflect different intensity as a result of different job aspirations or work attitudes, available resources and opportunities in the labour market. In other words, among the employees in particular, if it is assumed that their resources and job opportunities in the market

are the same, those who have high aspirations will likely to have attitudes that are less likely to feel matched with their current jobs and thus more likely to search for alternative jobs, *ceteris paribus*.

The juxtaposition of 'matched' and 'unmatched' jobs with people who are not searching and searching for alternative jobs as seen later in this Chapter is based on this view. This juxtaposition is only meant to show that in the study at hand, search behaviour of young people *correlates* with their attitude toward their current jobs. Nevertheless, this view is by no means intended to suggest that the relationship between aspiration, attitude and behaviour are straight forwardly causative (matched, so not searching, unmatched, so searching for alternative job), because lack of resource and opportunity in the market could halt full transformation of their aspiration into attitude and then attitude into behaviour. Lowering the aspiration and attitude toward more practical behaviour can be seen as an adaptation toward the resources and opportunities that are available. For some people, attitude is not always manifested in actual behaviour.

As a process, however, driven by unlimited ceiling of wage aspiration and endurance to improve class position as suggested by human capital theory and reproduction theory respectively, employees' attitudes and behaviour may change if their resources and opportunities change. So, after their resources and opportunities change, some employees who initially were not seeking alternative job, may in the subsequent stage search for alternative jobs, *ceteris paribus*. Therefore, an employee's chance to be in 'employed not searching for alternative job' or otherwise 'employed searching for an alternative job' category is not static. It depends on both their view and the development of resources and

opportunities. Nevertheless, since the data available in this study is a snapshot data, we are unable to study the change in their search behaviour.

This chapter examinee the effects of individual characteristics and several types of resources on search behaviour. Search behaviour was subdivided into four search modes: out of the labour force, employed not searching for a job, searching for a job while employed and openly searching for a job while unemployed.

5.3. Effect of individual characteristics, social origin and educational factors on search behaviour: multinomial logit analysis

Respondents were divided into four categories according to their job search modes or statuses. The inactive unemployed or discouraged category shown in chapter 4 was merged into the 'out of the labour force' category because there was no search activity and no involvement in labour force activities. The categories are:

(1) Out of the labour force (OLF) with 648 cases (21.5 per cent of the sample).

(2) Employed not searching (ENS) with 1380 cases (46 per cent).

(3) Employed searching (ES) with 717 cases (24 per cent)

(4) Unemployed searching (US) with 255 cases (8.5 per cent).

Difficulties in finding a better job may also prevent those who were dissatisfied with their current jobs from searching for an alternative job. For example, among the employees (2097 people) who were mismatched with their jobs (1227 people), only 58 per cent (717) were really searching for alternative jobs. Attitude is not always manifested in actual behaviour. Many employees who were dissatisfied with their jobs did not search for other jobs. Nevertheless, in the absence of unemployment benefits as is in the case in Indonesia, to continue searching for a job while unemployed seems to be too luxurious. This may be one

of the reasons why the number of those who were seeking an alternative job while employed (717) was considerably higher the number seeking a job while unemployed (255).

To analyze the probability of a person being in more than two categories (in this case the OLF, ENS, ES, or US categories), multinomial logit analysis was used (see Amemiya, 1985; Fergus, 1992). Since the data only provide 'the supply-side' variables, the individual's chance to be in the ENS, ES, US or OLF categories was assumed to be influenced by personal characteristics and background. The equations to obtain the parameter estimates, and the equations to obtain the probabilities were shown in chapter 1 (Methodology). The parameter estimates and the procedure to obtain the probability are shown in Appendix 5.1 and Appendix 5.2.

The results of the calculation which show the effect of each variable on the allocation of a person across search modes is shown in Table 5.1. In regard to the continuous variables, age, number of siblings, parent's education and respondent's education, the allocation effects of the maximum and the minimum probability were calculated to show different magnitude of the effect.

Table 5.1.
Multinomial logit analysis of the probabilities of Unemployed Search (US), Employed Search (ES), Employed Not Searching (ENS), and Out of the Labour Force (OLF) among school leavers 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994[a].

	Probability				
Independent variables	OLF	ENS	ES	US	TOTAL
Marital status * Sex					
Married males	.016	.817	.148	.019	1
Married females	.763	.148	.077	.012	1
Single males	.147	.411	.398	.044	1
Single females	.065	.440	.476	.019	1
Age (years)					
15	.479	.234	.236	.051	1
29	.106	.493	.388	.013	1
Number of siblings					
1	.211	.427	.344	.018	1
10	.214	.390	.364	.032	1
Place of birth					
Rural	.048	.792	.144	.016	1
Urban	.138	.472	.336	.054	1
Region					
Jakarta	.314	.475	.185	.026	1
Semarang	.163	.464	.343	.031	1
Surabaya	.028	.680	.265	.027	1
Ethnicity					
Babesuma	.179	.390	.402	.029	1
Javanese	.030	.874	.077	.018	1
Others	.202	.342	.424	.032	1
Religion of mother					
Non-Moslem	.057	.723	.134	.086	1
Moslem	.117	.513	.358	.012	1
Parents' education (years of schooling)					
3	.217	.395	.362	.025	1
18	.164	.558	.257	.021	1
Father's occupation					
Professional	.226	.442	.303	.029	1
Clerical	.281	.401	.291	.027	1
Trades	.198	.428	.351	.023	1
Services	.195	.441	.334	.030	1
Production	.047	.389	.485	.079	1
Farmers	.121	.459	.413	.007	1
Education (years of schooling)					
6	.292	.480	.216	.012	1
18	.145	.317	.498	.040	1
Vocational training					
No training	.038	.839	.098	.026	1
Trained	.160	.385	.425	.029	1
Migration status					
Non-migrant	.061	.740	.158	.041	1
Migrant	.115	.536	.325	.024	1

Source: Survey Data 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

Note: [a] = Figures 5.1, 5.3, 5.5-5.8, 5.10, 5.12-5.14, 5.16, and 5.17 in this Chapter were drawn from this table (Table 5.1). The rest of the figures in this chapter were based on Table 5.2.

This finding shows a general pattern: all variables -except sex, marital status and age have greater effects on the variation of the probability of whether or not to search while employed (ENS or ES), than on the variation of whether or not to search for a job while unemployed (US) or out of the labour force (OLF). This appears to indicate that different individual characteristics, parental background and socio-environmental background have greater differentiation on their chance to continue or to stop the search if employed than on their chance of being out of the labour force or openly unemployed. So for most young people in this study, the question of whether to continue to search if employed possibly overrides the question of whether to enter the labour market. This is possibly due to the limited job opportunities 'appropriate' for them and on the other hand the high cost of lengthening the period of unemployment or out of the labour force. The alternative search strategy of searching for a job while employed appears to be more affordable and probably also more beneficial than openly searching for a job while unemployed or out of the labour force.

Nevertheless, as shown in the parameter estimates, only nine variables have significant effects on search behaviour: sex and marital status, age, number of siblings, place of birth, region, religion of mother, father's occupation, education and vocational training.

Married females were significantly more likely to be out of the labour force and less likely than married males to be searching for an alternative job if they were employed. Among those who were single, females were more likely to be seeking an alternative job if employed, while single males were more likely to be out of the labour force and openly seeking a job than single females.

Those who were in the older groups were significantly more likely than the younger group to be employed, either not seeking or seeking an alternative job. There was not much difference in the effect of number of siblings. Nevertheless, there was a tendency for those with more siblings to be searching for an alternative job if employed or to be openly unemployed.

Urban-born youth were more likely to be out of the labour force, employed but searching for an alternative job or openly unemployed while rural born youth were more likely to be employed and not seeking an alternative job. Although in all three regions most young people were employed and not seeking an alternative job, those in Jakarta were more likely to be out of the labour force but significantly less likely to search for an alternative job if employed.

Young Javanese were less likely to be out of the labour force and were more likely to be not seeking an alternative job than youth of other ethnic groups. Children of Moslem mothers were significantly more likely to be seeking an alternative job if employed, but less likely to be openly unemployed than children of non-Moslem mothers. Young migrants were more likely than non-migrants to seek an alternative job if they were employed.

Children of parents with low educational qualification were more likely to be out of the labour force and seeking an alternative job if employed than children of parents with high educational qualification. There was also a tendency for children of fathers with low occupation to be in the labour force but they were more likely (in the case of children of farmers significantly more likely) than children of parents with high occupation to search for an alternative job if employed.

Young people with high educational qualifications were significantly less likely to be out of the labour force and more likely to seek an alternative job if employed than those with low educational qualifications. Those with vocational training experience were also significantly less likely to be out of the labour force.

This suggests that young people's search behaviour is influenced by several kinds of capital or resources mentioned by Bourdieu (1986) and Okano (1992): cultural capital (education, ethnicity), social capital (parental background) and field (local labour market). Second, differences in sex, age and marital status, which may reflect different social demand, also have different effects on search behaviour. For example, females, people in the older ages, and people who were married, were less likely than other groups to be openly searching for jobs. Third, differences in place of birth, ethnicity, and local labour market, which may reflect different constraints and opportunities in the socio-environmental settings, also have significant influence on search behaviour. Fourth, in general, the findings show that those who have longer expected participation in the labour market (males rather than females) were more likely to search for job either while employed or while unemployed. The same search behaviour also appears among those with high educational achievement and with vocational training: young people with high human capital qualifications were more likely to be job seekers, either as employed searching or unemployed searching, than those lacking human capital. These tendencies seem to support the human capital hypothesis.

However, there were also mixed signals in respect of other hypotheses such as the luxury or family support hypothesis. On the one hand, the tendency for those who were born in urban areas to be either both more actives in searching for jobs, or out of the labour force seems to confirm the hypothesis.

On the other hand, these tendencies were also accompanied by a high probability of searching for an alternative job among migrants and children of parents holding low occupation - farmers in particular: and there were high though not significant probability of searching for an alternative job among children of less educated parents, and whose mothers were Moslem and of openly searching for a job while unemployed among children with father having low occupation, production workers in particular. These appear to contradict the luxury hypothesis. Therefore there are mixed signals with respect to the applicability of the luxury or family support hypothesis.

In spite of these mixed signals, there was clear evidence, especially among the employees, that those who continue seeking a job are also likely to feel that their jobs are mismatched with their education. As mentioned earlier, those who were males, who were younger, lived out side Jakarta, with high educational qualification and with parents holding low educational qualification were more likely to search for job either while employed or unemployed. Employees with these characteristics were also less likely to feel that their jobs were appropriate to them (Table 5.2). The details are explained in the four sections below.

Table 5.2.

Logistic regression of the probability of finding matched jobs[a], school leavers 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994 (Number of cases =2097, unmatched =870 and matched=1227 cases; The omitted categories were coded 1)

Independent variables.	Regression Coefficient Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	Standardized
Sex						
Female						
Male	-.19*	-23**	-.22**	-.24**	-.24**	-.11*
	(.09)	(.10)	(.09)	(.10)	(.10)	(.05)
Age	.06***	.06***	.06***	.07***	.07***	.21***
	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.05)
Number of sibl.	.02	.01	.01	.01	.01	.03
	(.02)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.05)
Place of birth						
Rural						
Urban		-.35*	-.38**	-.32	-.32	-.03
		(.14)	(.17)	(.17)	(.17)	(.06)
Region						
Jakarta						
Semarang		-.97***	-.92***	-.91***	-.92***	-.47***
		(.15)	(.15)	(.15)	(.15)	(.07)
Surabaya		-.53***	-.49***	-.47***	-.48***	-.44***
		(.12)	(.13)	(.13)	(.13)	(.09)
Ethnicity						
Babesuma						
Javanese		-.01	-.05	-.04	-.02	-.04
		(.12)	(.14)	(.13)	(.12)	(.07)
Others		-.04	-.10	-.11	-.10	-.02
		(.14)	(.15)	(.15)	(.14)	(.07)
Rel. mother						
Non-Moslem						
Moslem		-.48**	-.41*	-.44*	-.47*	-.15*
		(.16)	(.17)	(.17)	(.17)	(.05)
Parents' educ.			.05*	.07**	.07***	.20***
			(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.05)
Father's occ.						
Professional			-.28	-.24	-.16	-.13
			(.31)	(.32)	(.32)	(.21)
Clerical			-.11	-.07	-.05	-.07
			(.24)	(.25)	(.25)	(.13)
Trades			-.02	.01	.10	.12
			(.22)	(.22)	(.23)	(.10)
Services			-.13	-.11	-..02	-..001
			(.26)	(.25)	(..26)	(.14)
Production			-.22	-.20	-.11	-.08
			(.21)	(.21)	(.22)	(.09)
Farmers						
Education				-.04*	-.03*	-.13*
				(.01)	(.01)	(.06)
Voc. Training						
No training						
Trained				-.11	-.10	-.05
				(.10)	(.11)	(.05)
Marital status						
Single						
Married					.17	.08
					(.12)	(.05)
Migration status						
Non-migrant						
Migrant					.27	.10
					(.16)	(.06)
Constant	-1.7487	-1.2400	-1.5289	-1.4800	-1.5528	-.5357
-2 Log Likelihood	2695.75	2609.92	2598.13	2589.23	2584.49	2584.49
Model Chi-square	21.58***	64.24***	76.03**	84.93**	89.67*	89.67***
Improvement	21.58***	42.66***	11.79	8.9**	4.74	

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

Note: [a] Occupation matched with levels of education was based on the respondent's opinion.

( ), *, ** and *** see note on Table 3.3.

5.3.1 Demographic characteristics and search behaviour

Demographic characteristics include sex, age, number of siblings, and marital status. These variables, except for number of siblings have considerable effect on search behaviour. Everything else being equal, among those who were married, females were more likely to be out of the labour force (75 per cent) than males (1.6 per cent)(Figure 5.1). A higher probability of searching for a job among married males (the gap was around 8 per cent) is understandable, since according to human capital theory, they are expected to have longer participation in the labour market. According to social reproduction theory, they have household obligations to find a decent job to finance their family in the future and jobs also seem to be central to their 'masculine identities'. On the other hand, since working may be seen by most married females as complementary to their household income, and also job opportunities seem to be limited for them, once they find a job, searching for alternative jobs appears to be unnecessary or difficult and to continue openly seeking a job may be seen as too costly.

Among those who were single, the likelihood of searching for an alternative job was slightly higher among females than males, nevertheless, the likelihood of searching for a job more intensively, in the form of being openly unemployed, was slightly higher among males than females. Single males were slightly more likely to be found in the 'searching for a job while unemployed' and 'out of the labour force' categories (Figure 5.1). Note that in this study the 'out of the labour force' category also includes those who were taking vocational courses and those who were not seeking a job but ready to work if any job was offered. It is understandable that there is a lower likelihood of both being openly unemployed and out of the labour force among single females. According to human capital theory, 'limited time span' for participating in employment may have forced them to avoid higher opportunity costs

and to engage in employment as soon as possible so openly seeking a job while unemployed or out of the labour force was seen as too costly. Social reproduction theory on the other hand may see that the *numerus clausus,* resulting from the obligation of all males to work, narrows their possibility of obtaining a job and pushes them into unemployment, and if males got a job they found an unmatched job. Although the explanations given by these theories are different, the implications for females are similar: females are more likely than males to feel that their jobs are matched (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.1

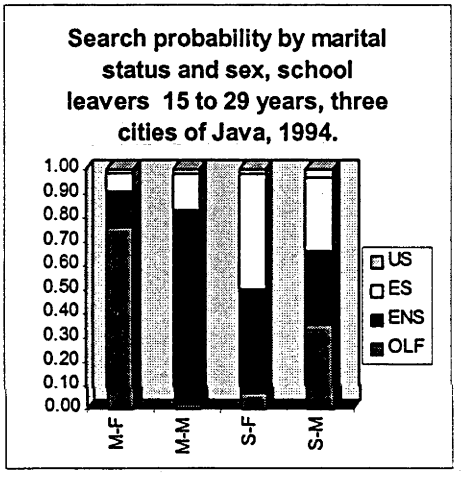
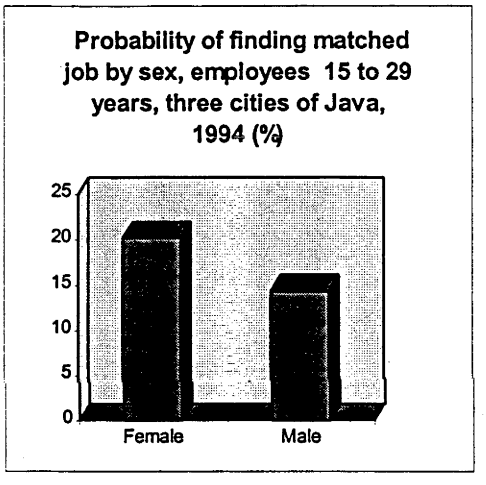


Figure 5.2



Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
M-F=married females. M-M=married males.S-F=single females. S-M=single males.
OLF=Out of the labour force.ENS=Employed not searching for a job.
ES=Employed searching for a job.US=Unemployed searching for a job.

The effect of age on search behaviour was also clear. As age increased, the probability of seeking a job was decreasing. Compared with those who were younger (15 years), those of the oldest group (29 years) were more likely to be in the 'employed not seeking job' (ENS) category and less likely to be out of the labour force (OLF) or openly seeking a job (US). Being out of the labour force and openly seeking a job are more affordable for younger people (48 and 5 per cent) than for older ones (10 and 1 per cent respectively)(Figure 5.3). The earnings forgone

resulting from being out of the labour force, openly unemployed or seeking an alternative job, according to human capital theory, was also less affordable for the older people. That is why older people, if employed, were more likely to regard their jobs as matched (Figure 5.4). Reproduction theory on the other hand may explain this situation in different way: that younger job seekers lacked resources: skills, networks, experience, so they could only find 'casual' or temporary jobs.

Figure 5.3

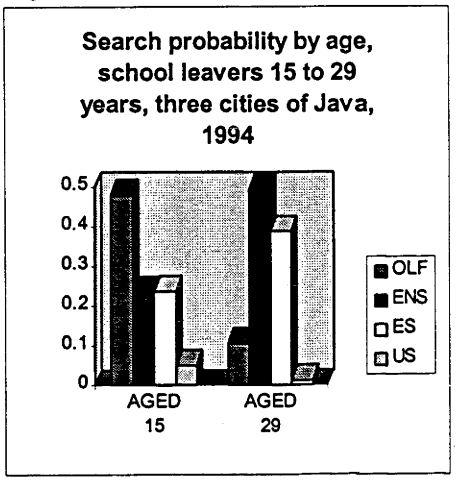
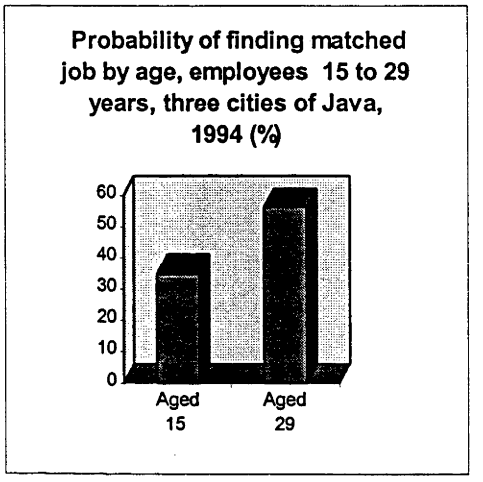


Figure 5.4



Source: Data 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
OLF=Out of the labour force.ENS=Employed not searching for a job.ES=Employed searching for a job.US=Unemployed searching for a job.

Number of siblings has no significant effect on search behaviour. Nevertheless, young people with more siblings were less likely to be in ENS (employed not searching for job) category than those with fewer siblings (Figure 5.5). As part of the effects of the family planning program started in the 1970s, those with more siblings in this study possibly were among the younger children in their birth order, and have older rather than younger brothers and sisters. Human capital theory may argue that having older brothers or sisters could mean they could obtain financial and other support from them to continue the search.

Figure 5.5

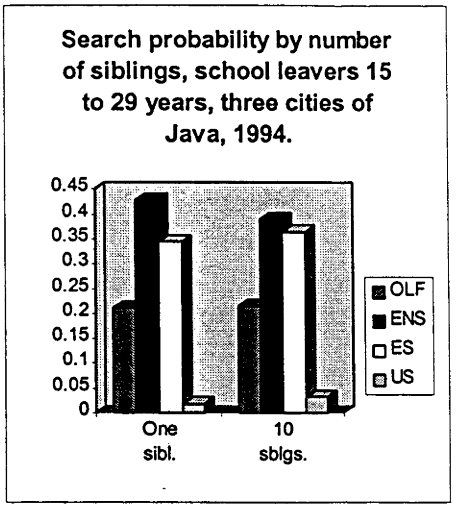
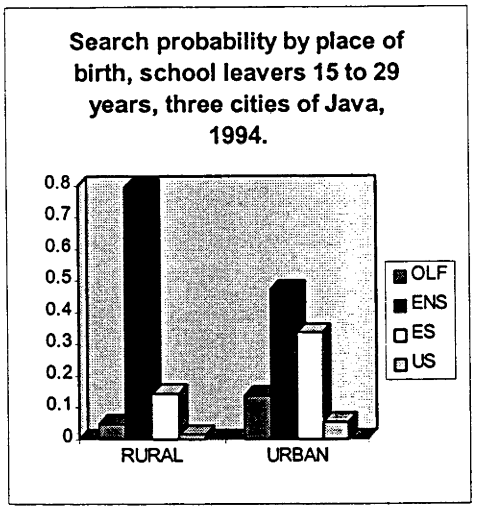


Figure 5.6



Source: Survey Data 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
OLF=Out of the labour force.ENS=Employed not searching for a job.ES=Employed searching for a job.US= Unemployed searching for a job.

5.3.2 Socio-environmental background and search behaviour

Socio-environmental background consists of place of birth, region, ethnicity, religion of mother and migration status. Place of birth has a substantial effect on search behaviour. The probabilities of searching for a job, both while employed and while unemployed, and out of the labour force were higher among urban-born than rural-born youth. The gaps were 19, 4 and 9 per cent respectively. They were also less likely than the rural-born to be in the ENS category. Searching for a job either while employed, openly unemployed or out of the labour force seem to be more affordable for urban-born youth (Figure 5.6), probably because, in these data, most of them, ranging from 73 per cent in Jakarta to 87 per cent in Surabaya, lived in their parents' house (Daliyo, 1995: 66). Therefore, they have more support, at least accommodation from their parents and possibly social networks in the cities. Rural-born youth were less likely to have such facilities or support. A reason for this is may be that most of them came to their current residence after their applications were accepted.

There was no significant difference in search behaviour among young people with different ethnicities. Nevertheless there were clearly different tendencies. In contrast to human capital theory which suggests a positive relationship between resource and search intensity, the Babesuma ethnic group that appears to have 'poor' resources shows a greater likelihood of continuing the search. Probably 'social norms' or value systems in which sexual division of labour is defined rather than 'resources' pushed the Babesuma to search more intensively. In the Babesuma ethnic group, sexual division of labour is stronger than in the Javanese and 'other' ethnic group. This may put pressure on males of the Babesuma to search for a decent job; males were expected to be the sole economic backbone of the household, since the females were more likely to be out of the labour force (Chapter 4, Table 4.6). The economic burden on the males resulted in a high probability of searching for alternative jobs. This cultural value in turn allocates them across search modes more evenly than the Javanese. As a result, there was a higher probability of becoming job seekers while employed (the gaps were around 30 per cent) or unemployed (the gaps were around 2 per cent) as well as out of the labour force (the gaps were above 14 per cent) among youth of the Babesuma ethnic groups relative to the Javanese (Figure 5.7). Javanese cultural values, on the other hand, provide fewer barrier to females' participation in the labour force (their probability of being out of the labour force being only 3 per cent), because sexual division of labour is weak. Greater participation in the labour force among Javanese females may put less pressure on the Javanese family, so once they are employed, they were more likely (87 per cent) to be the 'employed not seeking alternative job' category. If there is a positive relationship between search behaviour and sexual division of labour as part of social reproduction, this clearly supports Bourdieu' view that 'habitus' (way of thinking, norms) also determine 'practice' of job search. Another argument, which also support

his formula : Practice= (habitus x resource) + field) is that Babesuma are minority groups and having less access to the modern sector, have narrow fields of possibility and as a result cannot find appropriate jobs. So they continued seeking a job because of 'coercion' (limited social space resulting from their minority status) as assumed by social reproduction theory, rather than because of adequate resources as assumed by human capital theory.

Figure 5.7

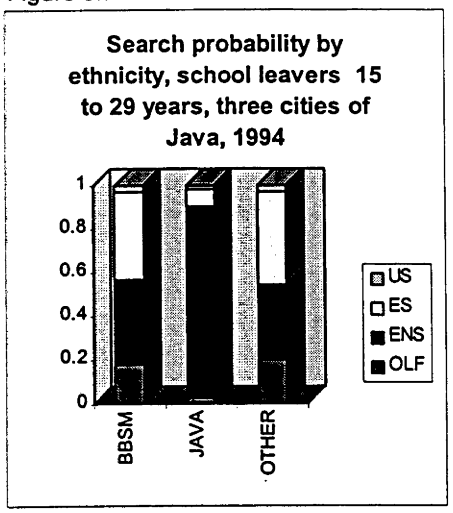


Figure 5.8

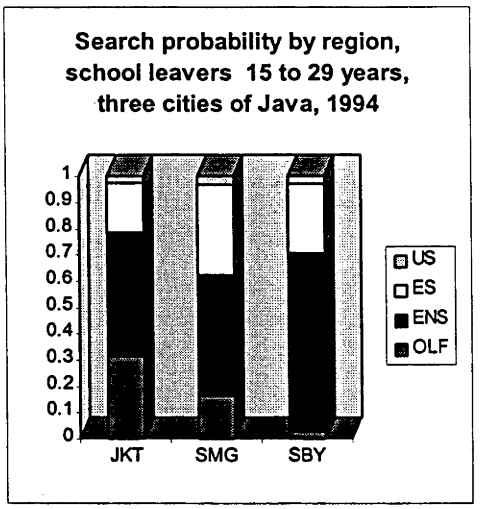
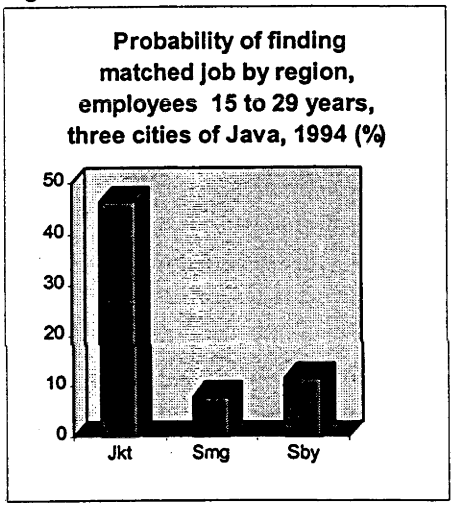


Figure 5.9



Source: Survey Data 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
OLF=Out of the labour force.ENS=Employed not searching for a job.ES=Employed searching for a job.US= Unemployed searching for a job.

The local labour market has a strong effect on search behaviour (Figure 5.8). Young people in Jakarta were more likely to be out-of the labour force and less likely to search for alternative job if they were employed than those in other cities. Jakarta youth might prefer to stay out of the labour force if they found job offer that were less preferable, but once they took a job they couldn't search for alternative jobs, since searching for an alternative job while employed may be difficult because of

longer travelling time and limited after-work hours. Young people in Semarang, on the other hand, were more likely to search for a job while employed than those in other cities. At least two explanations are possible: first, the economic reason which tallies with the fact that in Central Java, of which Semarang is the capital, the average monthly wage in 1990 was 63.700 rupiah while in Jakarta, and in East Java where Surabaya is the capital, the monthly wage was 150.600 and 71.900 rupiah (Ministry of Manpower, 1993: Table 89). So lower average income rather than social support may force Semarang youth to find alternative jobs. Therefore, it is understandable that employees outside Jakarta tended to say that their jobs were mismatched (Figure 5.9).

The second reason is that in Semarang, as mentioned by Daliyo (1995:77-78, and Appendix Tables B-9A and B-9B), a high proportion of employees had an occupation that was similar to their parents' occupation. For example, 40 per cent of the male workers in Semarang were in the trade sector, and almost half of them had fathers who were working in this sector. The similarity between son's occupation and father's occupation possibly means that most of these young people were working with their parents, and their current jobs were regarded as temporary until they found alternative jobs. The combined effects of low income and the pursuit of independence from their parents may have resulted in a high probability of seeking alternative jobs among employees in Semarang.

Figure 5.10

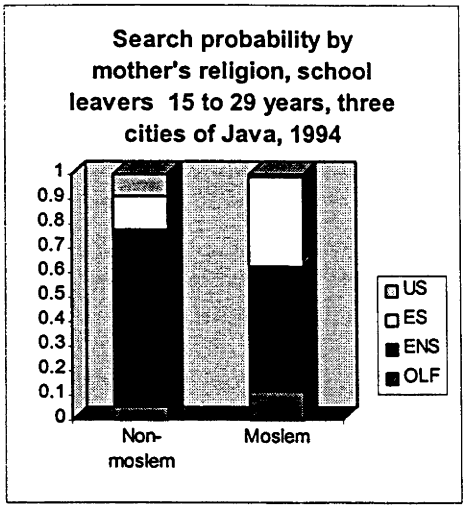
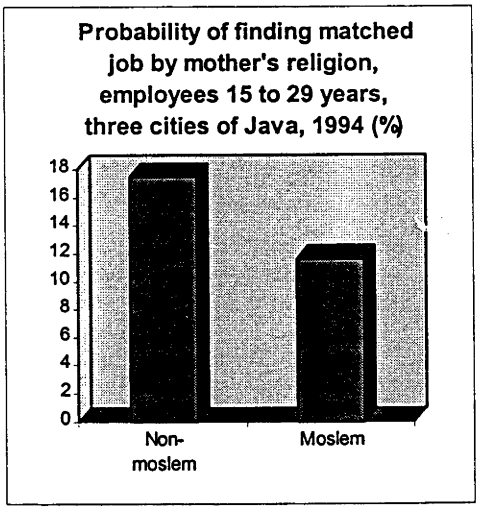


Figure 5.11



Source: Survey Data 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
OLF=Out of the labour force. ENS=Employed not searching for a job.ES=Employed searching for a job.
US= Unemployed searching for a job

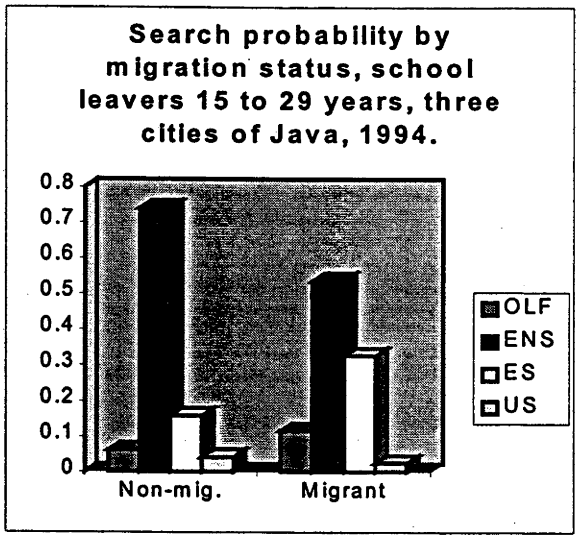
Non-Moslem youth were significantly more likely to be openly unemployed (the US gap was 7 per cent), but 6 per cent less likely to be out of the labour force than young people with a Moslem mother. They were also more likely to be in ENS (the ENS gap was 21 per cent), and less likely to be in ES category (the ES gap was 22 per cent) (Figure 5.10). The smaller likelihood of seeking a job while employed among children of non-Moslem mothers apparently was a result of effective contact with employers[1], as later indicated in Chapter 6, Table 6.5: they were more likely to get help in finding a job than children of Moslem mothers. That is why the result of the search (while unemployed) was also more likely to match their educational qualification (indicated in Figure 5.11).

[1] Around half of non-Moslem (170 out of 348) were Chinese in this study. In general, most non-Moslem are in the modern sector. Around one-third of non-Moslem fathers had a trades occupation; only 23 per cent of Moslem fathers had this occupation.

This finding contradicts the luxury hypothesis and human capital theory and supports the social reproduction theory which suggests that the limited field of possibility (among children of Moslem mother) forced them into disguise unemployment that was manifested in the continuation of the search for a job because they found inappropriate jobs.

Migration status also has a substantial impact on search behaviour (Figure 5.12). Assuming that everything was equal, migrants were 10 per cent more likely to be out of the labour force, 17 per cent more likely to search for a job while employed and 21 per cent less likely to be not searching for a job if they were employed. Migrants have limited social contacts and lack family supports for job search in the areas of destination, while non-migrants seem to be more settled and have much support from their parents to remain out-of the labour force or to find match job. The fact that migrants were more likely to be out of the labour force and continue searching for job contradicts the luxury hypothesis. Their habitus and probably limited room to maneuver forced them to be out of the labour force and continue the search if employed. This finding supports social reproduction theory.

Figure 5.12



Source: Survey Data 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
OLF=Out of the labour force. ENS=Employed not searching for a job
.ES=Employed searching for a job. US= Unemployed searching for a job.

5.3.3. Parental background and search behaviour

As stated by Bourdieu (1986:125), every family consciously or unconsciously wishes to maintain or improve its position in the society. Seeking for a job can be regarded as an effort to maintain or improve a person's social class through the achievement of a better occupation or income. Since seeking for an appropriate job involves cost and resources, those who have better capital or resources are more likely to be able to achieve their intention. Those with better resources are more likely to experience a quicker and smoother transition into employment than those who lack resources. In contrast to this theory is the luxury hypothesis, which suggests a positive relationship between search intensity and parental socio-economic status because those with better economic support, or with parents having high socio-economic status, can afford unemployment or can continue searching for a job. This luxury hypothesis is also indirectly assumed in several studies on Java's labour force since unemployment or intensive searching is higher among those with high educational qualifications, and the educated youth were disproportionately drawn from parents with high socio-economic status (Jones, 1981:250; Hugo, et al., 1987:286; Fergus, 1992). So middle-class children were indirectly 'blamed' for the high unemployment among educated people in Indonesia.

In contrast to the luxury hypothesis, the present study shows that children of parents with low educational qualification have a higher though insignificant, probability of searching for a job while employed (Figure 5.13). This study also shows a high probability of seeking a job while employed or unemployed among children with fathers in lower occupations, particularly in production occupation (Figure 5.14). Limited resources and social networks among children of parents with low occupation (production) may give them limited access to 'decent' employment.

This negative relationship between parental resource and the probability of being openly seeking a job while unemployed, or 'under-employed', seeking an alternative job supports the reproduction theory.

Similarly, the pattern based on the 1992 National Labour Force Survey, (Manning, 1998 –Table 8.4), contradicts the luxury hypothesis: the unemployment rate of young people aged 15 to 29 years was negatively correlated with the levels of education and income of the household head.

Figure 5.13

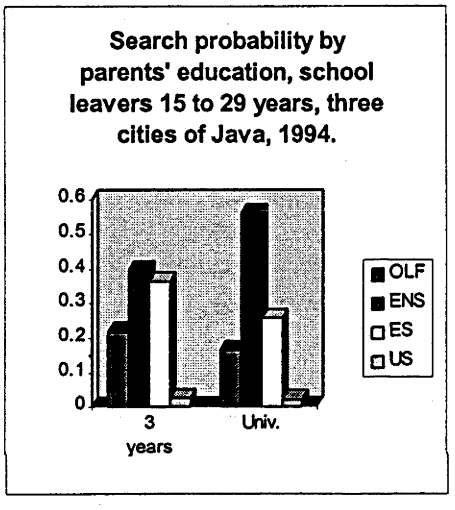


Figure 5.14

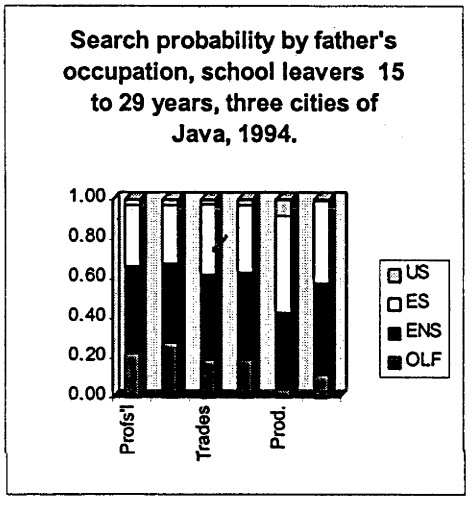
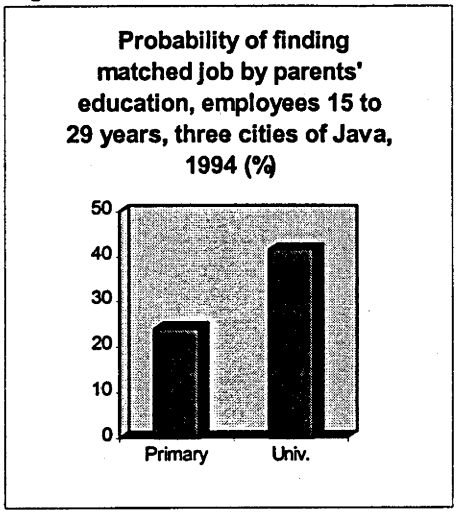


Figure 5.15



Source: Data 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
OLF=Out of the labour force.ENS=Employed not searching for a job.ES=Employed searching for a job.
US= Unemployed searching for a job

The findings that cast doubt on the luxury hypothesis raise questions about the importance of other factors such as the different effectiveness of job acquisition, thus different 'job satisfaction', among children with different parental backgrounds. Indeed, there was a significant difference in the occupational attainment among children with parents having different levels of education and occupation. As shown in Chapter 8 (Tables 8.1, 8.3 and 8.5), parents' education has a significant direct effect, independent of the effect of children's education, on children's occupational attainment. With the same characteristics, level of education for example, children of parents with high educational qualification obtained a higher status occupation. Assuming everything else to be equal, an increase of one year in the education of their parents increases the probability of obtaining an occupation that was 50 percentage points higher in the Ganzeboom index. As a result, children of parents with high educational qualification were probably more likely to find 'matched' jobs than children of parents with low education. This is also the case (see Figure 5.15): increase in education of parents significantly increases the children's probability of finding jobs that were matched to their levels of education. Children of well-educated parents tend to obtain a high status occupation and a 'matched' job. If such children have obtained higher and matched occupations as compared with children of parents with low education, they need not continue searching for an alternative job. Therefore, as shown in Figure 5.13, employees whose parents had university educational qualifications were more likely to be in the 'not searching for an alternative job' category.

Similarly, a lower search intensity of employees whose parents held a high occupation was probable, since as shown in Chapter 8 (Tables 8.3 and 8.5), with the same level of education, they achieved a higher occupation than those with parents with a low occupation. All else being equal, compared to the children of farmers,

children of parents with professional and managerial occupations attained occupations that were around 5 points higher in the Ganzeboom Index. As a result, children of fathers with higher occupations were less likely to search for a job while employed (Figure 5.14) since they obtained relatively high occupations.

The negative relationship between parental socio-economic status and search intensity undoubtedly supports the assumption that those with better family resources can move smoothly into employment, while those whose parents lacked resources cannot link their job aspiration shaped by their education and the limited job opportunity in the market (Bourdieu, 1986:143-144).

The negative relationship between parental socio-economic status and search intensity also raises questions on the relevance of other hypotheses such as the socialization process hypothesis (Furlong, 1987) and the segmentation hypothesis (Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury, 1990). These hypotheses are similar to the reproduction hypothesis. The socialization process hypothesis assumes that transition problems arise from the discrepancy between experience in the family and school and job opportunity or occupational culture in the labour market. The issue, therefore, is social and cultural distance rather than merely economic support for job search from parents. It is possible that as a result of structural-occupational change in the economy, job seekers with different parental backgrounds have different social proximity to the desired jobs. Children of parents with low or traditional sector jobs may face a wider cultural distance or 'social proximity' to the job opportunities that are available resulting from structural economic change than children of parents with a high occupation. Job seekers with parents of low socio-economic status lacked understanding of the recruitment mechanism, or their social networks were cutoff from new developments in employment, so they were less likely to find the desired job. If they could find a job, they might find themselves 'unmatched with the job'

simply because they were unfamiliar with the job, since they were born to a farmer for example. However, this does not necessarily mean they would easily abandon their initial job aspirations. An ineffective socialization process resulting from irrelevant schooling (Furlong, 1987) may also create the 'unsmoothness' of their adaptability toward their jobs.

Another hypothesis, the segmentation hypothesis (Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury, 1990) suggests that the nature of the job (careerless - short-term - long-term career job) could have a different effect on search behaviour. Possibly, children of educated parents have better access to a job that provides longer-term career prospects, such as in the public sector. So the job promises a high reward and this prevents job turnover among the employees. On the other hand, children of uneducated parents tend to obtain short-term jobs that create pressure to search for another job.

Short-term career or careerless or casual and less secure jobs, rather than lack of parental support force the employed to continue the search for more secure jobs. In this case, the family support or luxury hypothesis is simply irrelevant. In this theory, the fact that children of parents with low socio-economic status remain unemployed is not a result of their efforts to intensively seek a job (Barron and Melow, 1981), or a maximum strategy taken by job seekers (Black, 1981:30); it is because they have only obtained temporary or casual jobs. This arrangement is more likely to be taken by employers in a labour-surplus situation.

Considering this argument, therefore, a negative relationship between parental socio-economic status and search intensity is not only possible but also probable. The higher probability of searching for another job is also one of the signals of resistance in which children of working-class parents try to escape from the unwanted 'social class trajectory'.

This sort of argument, nevertheless, could explain the perpetuation of socio-economic status inheritance and social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1986), when children of parents with high socio-economic status have achieved a stable occupation, and lower likelihood of searching for alternative job is a signal of the effectiveness[2] of their occupational placement.

5.3.4 Education and search behaviour

Higher search intensity among the more educated than less educated youth is consistent with expectations. Young people with below-primary-school qualification were 17 per cent more likely to be in the employed not searching for job category (48 per cent), than those with tertiary educational qualification (31 per cent, Figure 5.16). Lacking education, they seem likely to have limited job options and narrower wage dispersion than those with secondary or tertiary education. Educated young people were 28 per cent more likely to be searching for a job while employed. Similarly, long duration of open job search seems to be less beneficial for those who have lower education qualification than for those with high education. Seeking an alternative job was more beneficial for those who faced wider wage dispersion, therefore young people with higher education were more likely to search either while employed or while unemployed.

Educated youth were likely to have higher occupational aspiration and wider job dispersion than less educated youth. That is why they were less likely to feel that their current jobs were matched (Figure 5.16) since they have several job options. Nevertheless, educated youth also have higher forgone earnings if they remain unemployed than less educated youth. This in turn encourages them to accept 'temporary' jobs but to continue the search (Figure 5.17), as a more affordable strategy to maximize their return on investment in education.

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[2] The last section of Chapter 6 also shows that children of parents having high educational qualification

A similar pattern but with more substantial difference was evident among those with vocational training experience. Those with vocational training were 46 per cent less likely to be 'employed not seeking a job' and 33 per cent more likely to be 'employed seeking a job' than those with no such training (Figure 5.18).

Positive relationships between education and having vocational training on the one hand and on the other hand search intensity supports search theory (human capital theory). Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean rejection of social reproduction theory, which suggests that the positive relationship between levels of education and search intensity can happen as a result of the *numerus clausus* (inflation of high education qualification and training) which narrows the possibility of getting a matched job because of fierce competition. This explanation is clearly relevant to social context in the three cities of Java in which during the 1980-1990 period, the growth of educated workers and job seekers was greater than of the less educated (Chapter 2).

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were more likely to have a shorter unemployment period.

Figure 5.16

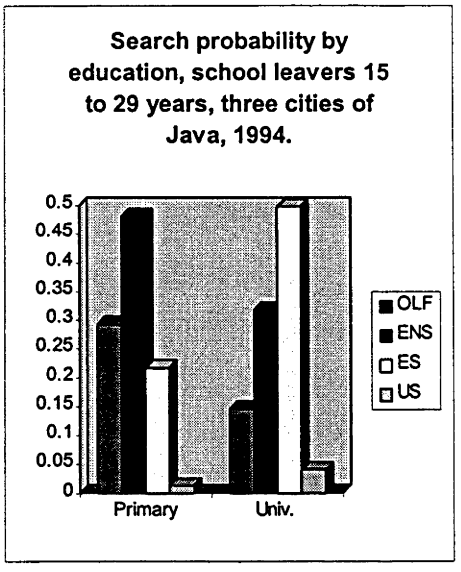


Figure 5.17

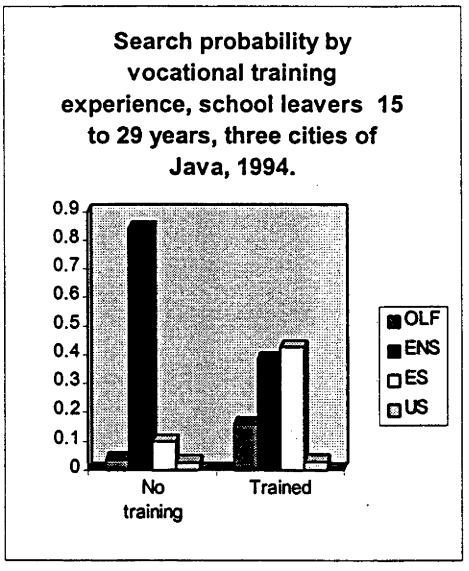
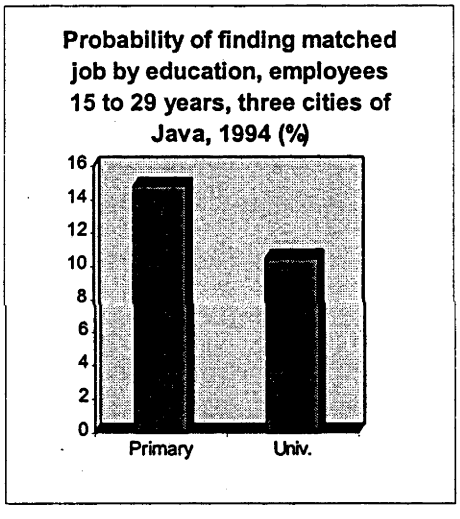


Figure 5.18



Source: Survey Data 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
OLF=Out of the labour force.ENS=Employed not searching for a job.ES=Employed searching for a job.US= Unemployed searching for a job.

5.4.Summary of findings

There was greater variation in the probability of continuing or stopping the search while employed (ENS or ES), than in the probability of searching for a job while unemployed (US) or out of the labour force (OLF). This indicates that different individual characteristics, parental background and socio-environmental background strongly affect the chance to continue or to stop the search if employed rather than to

be out of the labour force or openly unemployed. So, for most young people in this study, the question of whether to continue the search if employed possibly overrides the question of whether or not to enter the labour market. This study also shows that multinomial logit analysis of search behaviour seems to be more sensitive to measuring the school-work transition than is labour-force participation analysis (Chapter 4). This analysis also can identify the levels of employment (unemployed, employed-search for alternative job and employed not-searching for job) of young people with different characteristics.

Search behaviour in the three cities seems to be influenced by a complex set of factors. Although much is explained by factors such as a longer expected participation in the labour market, and wider job dispersion, as search theory or human capital theory suggests, but this theory seems to be inadequate to fully explain the search behaviour in the three cities. Search behaviour seems also to be influenced by other factors suggested by social reproduction theory: the cultural values and limited parental supports and field of possibility available in the social context; socialization process: the discrepancy between experience in the family, school and labour market; and segmentation: different nature of jobs.

In general, with regard to the effects of age, sex, place of birth, marital and migration status and education in particular, the findings of this study are similar to Fergus's findings (1992) that focus on the effect of these factors on search behaviour of people aged 10 years and over in Java.

Indeed, in accordance with human capital theory, those who have a longer expected participation in the labour market (males, single and young) and have greater social networks (urban-born children) are more likely to search for a job intensively. For example, among those who are married, males are more likely to be employees and to search for a job than married females, while among those who are

single, males were more likely to search for a job openly, while unemployed, than females. Those with high educational achievement or vocational training and born in urban areas are more likely to be job seekers, either while employed or while unemployed. These tendencies seem to support the human capital hypothesis.

Nevertheless, other factors such as different socio-cultural and economic settings and the attitude of employed people towards their jobs also have important effects on their likelihood of continuing the search. Different socio-cultural and economic settings apparently provide different chances, supports and pressures. The Babesuma ethnic group, an ethnic minority and least dominant in the economy, the children of Moslem mothers and migrants, who are less likely to have adequate contacts with employers or social networks than non-Moslem and non-migrants, are more likely to continue searching for job. Coercion as assumed by reproduction theory, rather than job dispersion or parental support as assumed by human capital theory and the luxury hypothesis, may have forced these young people into unemployment or finding unmatched jobs, thus forcing them to continue the search while employed.

Another factor, the feeling that their jobs are mismatched, also appears to drive young people to continue their search. In this study, indeed, employees whose parents held low educational qualifications and whose mothers were Moslem were more likely to say that they found jobs that were unmatched with their educational qualification. Some of the reasons for this were ineffectiveness of job allocation resulting from lack of parental resources (reproduction theory); social and psychological discrepancies (socialization theory); or the short-term nature of the jobs obtained by these people (segmentation theory). Therefore it is understandable that they were more likely to search for alternative jobs.

The negative relationship between parental socio-economic status and search intensity supports the social reproduction hypothesis, because there were clear signals that children of parents with high socio-economic status experienced smooth transition into work through more effective job allocation that ensures socio-economic status inheritance. The greater likelihood of obtaining a job matched to their education, and thus the lesser likelihood of seeking an alternative job among children of parents with high educational qualification, shows that job acquisition was more effective among this group. On the other hand, a higher probability of searching for an alternative job while employed among children of parents with low socio-economic status reflects their attempts to escape from the unwanted 'social class trajectory'. This may become one of the reasons why social mobility is possible among children from low socio-economic background

If search intensity is related to occupational mobility – not necessarily vertical mobility – young people who were born in urban areas, with Moslem mother, single, males, in the younger age group, migrants, who lived outside Jakarta, whose parents have low education, and who themselves have high education and vocational training experience, are among those most likely to experience occupational mobility.

CHAPTER 6
JOB SEARCH METHODS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is important for two reasons. First, there are only limited number of studies, which pay attention to the matching process. As mentioned by Granovetter (1990), economic as well as sociological studies lack attention to the matching process (on how a job seeker with certain characteristics gets a certain occupation) since most of the studies over-emphasize either the supply or the demand side. This study analyzes the experience from a developing country of the matching process, the job search method in particular. Second, as a result of mass-education and high unemployment among educated people, the struggle of parents to find an appropriate job for their offspring, as Bourdieu (1986) pointed out, is one of the most important factors in the transformation of social structure.

> The specific contradiction of the scholastic of reproduction lies in the opposition between the interests of the class which the educational system serves statistically and the interests of those class members whom it sacrifices, that is the 'failures' who are threatened with 'declassement' for lack of the qualifications formally required of rightful members... The individual substitution strategies which one group may employ to try to escape downclassing and to return to their class trajectory and those which another group employs to rebuild the interrupted path of hoped-for-trajectories, are now one of the most important factors in the transformation of social structure (Bourdieu, 1986:147).

Therefore, it is relevant to analyze how job seekers compete to seek valuable job information, which of them are able to find help and how their families help them. The aim of this chapter is to analyze the relationship between on the one hand the parental, educational, and individual characteristics and socio-environmental background of job seekers, and on the other hand, the source of job information, method of job search, the probability of getting help, the characteristics of helpers and type of help given by other people. The research questions are who gets what information, how they apply for jobs, who gets help and of what kind, and who helped them in finding jobs. These issues are put in the

first section. Length of unemployment, which is regarded as one of the results of ineffective job search method, is discussed in the last section of this chapter. This chapter, nevertheless, is only a sketch of job search efforts as shown in the statistical figures while the 'dynamic' of the job search process is shown Chapter 7.

6.2 Sources, flows and recipients of job information and influence: the strength of weak ties hypothesis versus the strength of strong ties hypothesis

6.2.1 The strength of weak ties hypothesis

Granovetter (1974, 1995) suggests that there were two resources that were flowing through two-way traffic in the job search process: job information (from employers) and influence (from job seekers).

Ozga (1960, cited in Granovetter, 1974:51) assumed that the dynamics of information flow depend on and diffuse through the social process, rather than through search behaviour. So information flows were independent of search behaviour (unrelated to market behaviour). The job seekers were tapping the information by entering the channel or network in which job information was flowing. This implies that information spreads in a non-random pattern, in which people from different social positions have different social proximity to the first-hand source of information on a particular job. On the other hand, the potential employers, as the first-hand source of information of job vacancies, were more likely to transmit the information to persons with the closest social ties (strong ties) to them before the information spread through the chain of social networks and social processes. Persons with strong ties to the first-hand source of information, therefore, were more likely to catch the first-hand information than persons with weak social ties. The number of potential recipients of the flow, was limited if the information was passed through strong social ties, because the information flows into a population with a greater overlap of contacts (Granovetter, 1974:55). Through this process, job information was also segmented: friends and contacts

who relate to job seekers in weak ties of social contacts are more likely to offer jobs or information regarding jobs that are different (higher or lower) from the jobs of their own socio-economic class of origin. Contact persons with weak ties or no ties as agents of job information therefore provide a track for social mobility. This is – as Granovetter (1974) asserted – the strength of weak ties. This theory implies that educated job seekers are more likely to find job information from other than family members, since they are more likely to search longer and to enter impersonal networks of information. Accordingly, those who get job information through weak ties or impersonal networks of advertisement are more likely to be educated applicants and apply for a job through formal means.

6.2.2 The strength of strong ties

In the job search process, in response to the job information, job seekers can influence the potential employers or job-assigning authorities with their resources. Job seekers can apply for a job through direct contact with the potential employers or through indirect contacts: through persons who have strong social ties or otherwise weak or no social ties with the job seekers. In this regard, especially in a situation where the labour market is imperfect and young people seek jobs, job search through indirect contacts is not only common, but also beneficial, especially if the contacts have access to the job-assigning authority. Through this process young job seekers can convert their family resources to influence the job-assigning authorities. Through strong ties (family members for example), rather than weak ties (friends or acquaintances[1]), job seekers seem to have more chance of access to influence, since they can use ties of trust and obligation to obtain the desired job

[1] Granovetter (1974:53) proposes the amount of time and frequency spent together by two persons as a 'crude' measure of the strength of ties. The data of this study do not provide such information. Since most respondents live with their parents, this study assumes that respondents spent most of their time with family members. So family members are categorized as strong social ties, while friends are categorized as weak ties. Since respondents also obtained job information from mass media or employment agencies, these networks are categorized as 'no ties'. Nevertheless, since there were few cases, they were merged with 'weak ties' category

(Bian, 1997:367). The access to influence is greater if the mediator with strong ties is also the person who obtains the job information from the first-hand source of information (the employers).

In condition of high unemployment, this process is more likely, since job information as a valuable commodity is more likely to be passed into or through strong social ties than through weak ties[2]. Those who get job information through strong ties or have strong social ties to the employers are more likely to apply for the job through personal contacts, and to get the job. These contacts also act as barriers to other potential applicants who are excluded from contact-lines. Those who are excluded from the strong-ties network that link job seekers-ties-employers but have received job information through weak ties need a person to be an intermediary for accessing to the influence.

On the basis of these arguments, through weak social ties, job seekers can obtain job information that provides a better chance for social mobility but provides less chance to influence the job-assigning authority. On the other hand, those who are included in the contact line to the job-assigning authority through strong ties have a greater chance to influence the job-assigning authority and to obtain a job. The main weakness of those theories is the absence of social class relations in which job acquisition is part of social struggle; beside this they have no answer to the question on who is more likely to be helped, who will help and what kind of help will be given.

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[2] Recruitment through strong ties is also caused by difficulties for employers for selecting the best potential applicants. Personal contact is needed by employers, because knowledge about levels of productivity of the applicants and level of confidence about their reliability will be better if the foreman or other persons in whom employers put their trust come forward with their candidates.

The impersonal mechanism of recruitment of modern organizations is also rarely understood by people in traditional organizations. This results in the need for 'connections' who can help applicants approach the mechanism of the recruitment of modern bureuacracy. 'The more complicated or non-routine the information becomes, the greater the advantages of the direct personal contact' (Tornqvist, 1970:27). As a consequence, recruitment practices through familial and personal contact, job brokerage and job purchasing are common.

6.3 Social reproduction theory

As mentioned in Chapter 5, according to social reproduction or resource conversion theory, search behaviour is regarded as a practice of maintaining or improving the position in the class structure. Search behaviour is seen by this theory as resource conversion practice as part of social struggle and social reproduction (Okano, 1992). Behaviour is a result of the interaction between the habitus (way of thinking) and capital within a given field of society. The formula is (Habitus x Capital)+ Field Practice (Bourdieu, 1986:101). Bourdieu's idea is that

> A group's chances of appropriating any given class of rare assets...depend partly on its capacity for the specific appropriation, defined by economic, cultural and social capital that can be deployed in order to appropriate materially or symbolically the assets in question, that is, its position in social space, and partly on the relationship between its distribution in geographical space and the distribution of the scarce assets in that space (Bourdieu, 1986:124).

The capacity to deploy job-seekers' resources to obtain rare assets (in this regard job information), according to Bourdieu, is their position in the social structure, because, the higher the social-class position, the higher the control over the field, by which resources can be converted through their power without mediation: the higher the social class, the wider their social space to maneuver (Bourdieu, 1986:113, 120). Those with high human capital (educational qualification), and whose parents hold high social position, have a greater chance to obtain valuable job information (rare assets), variety of methods and more effective job search. This theory also implies that – in contrast to human capital and search theory – children with parents of high socio-economic status are more likely to have a smoother transition, that is, a shorter unemployment period.

Efforts to maintain or improve their position within the social structure, in this regard search strategy, according to Bourdieu, depend on two factors: the volume and composition of the resources and the state instrument of social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1986:125). This implies that 'inheritance law' or 'social norm' as an instrument of social reproduction (inside or outside families) and class

determine resource allocation, by which children of different sexes, religions, or education qualifications can obtain different types of help and persons who can help in finding a job.

6.4 Source of job information, dependence on other people's help and types of help

In this survey, types of help include first, loans, business permits, and site-permits given to use a kiosk or yard etc, second 'connections', and third, material or capital grant and training given as a preparation for employment. In this study, job information given to job seekers is not regarded as help. Methods of job search are means of searching for jobs through formal means, personal contact or direct application (Granovetter, 1974:10)[3] Although job seekers are more likely to employ multiple methods of job search, the survey only provides information about the most emphasized method taken by job seekers in the last six months.

6.4.1 Source of job information and method of job search

There were significant differences among job seekers with different educational qualifications in the use of sources of job information. In accordance with expectations, in this study, the employed were over-represented in using friends (49 per cent) and relatives (27 per cent), while formal means of information such as mass-media and employment agencies were in limited use (Table 6.1). Work-sites and employment agencies combined have only placed job seekers into employment in a very few cases (5.1 per cent), the contribution of employment agencies being below 1 per cent.

By contrast, those who were still unemployed were much more likely to have applied for advertised job offers: 34 per cent. The hope of the unemployed to

[3] Formal means include advertisements, and public and private employment agencies which act as impersonal intermediaries between job seekers and prospective employers. A personal contact is some individual known personally and originally met in some context unrelated to a search for job information. Direct application means the applicant writes or goes directly to a firm or employer without any use of formal or personal intermediary or personal contacts (Granovetter, 1974:11).

obtain a job through direct inquiries was also high: 31.6 per cent, – two respondents who were using employment agencies were included in this category (see Table 6.2). One possible explanation of the wide gap between methods used by the unemployed and method used by the employed is that after application through impersonal means of seeking a job (through mass-media) and direct inquiries was ineffective, most job seekers then turned to a personal network, relatives and friends.

This situation may reflect an imbalance between the direction of flow of job information and the direction of efforts to gain information. On the one hand a great number of job seekers seek job information through weak ties or impersonal networks; this indicates that they lack valuable job information from their family or relatives. On the other hand, job information (of the employers) is more likely to be passed to their family members or relatives with strong ties. This may create a condition where a high proportion of job seekers made efforts to seek job information or to contact agents with weak ties or an impersonal network such as advertisement, but the proportion who were employed through these efforts was low.

The high proportion of unemployed job seekers using formal means of job search, responding to media advertisement, was in contrast to Hinchliffe's finding that young people mostly use informal job search procedures (Hinchliffe, 1987:145).

Most employees with higher educational qualifications – in accordance to Bourdieu's and Granovetter's views – were more likely to be employed through impersonal means of contact (with letter of application and mass-media), while job

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These types of specific effort in seeking a job, according to Barron and Mellow (1979:391), have a significant effect on the probability of becoming employed in a given period of time.

seekers with less educational qualification were more likely to be employed through personal contacts and direct inquiries (Table 6.1).

The pattern whereby educated job seekers were more likely and less educated people were less likely to search for job information through impersonal networks was more obvious in regard to the job seekers who were still unemployed (Table 6.2). Among job seekers with primary school education, for example, 75 per cent contacted friends and relatives and only 12 per cent applied in response to media advertisements to find a job, while the comparable figures for those with tertiary education were 13 per cent and 43.5 per cent respectively.

Table 6.1
Source of job information used by employees 15 to 29 years by education, three cities of Java, 1994.

Source of job information

Education	Relatives	Friends	Mass-media	Worksites + employ-ment agency	Direct inquiries	Total %	n
< Primary	27.9	48.6	0.7	6.4	16.4	100	140
Primary	33.6	46.9	1.1	5.8	12.6	100	277
Junior S	26.2	59.0	2.5	3.8	8.5	100	366
Senior S	27.6	48.2	11.2	4.6	8.3	100	1107
Tertiary	20.3	42.0	21.7	7.7	8.2	100	207
Total %	27.5	49.4	8.7	5.1	9.4	100	2097

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
Phi=.247, Sig.=.005.

Table 6.2
Job search methods of unemployed job seekers 15 to 29 years by education, three cities of Java, 1994.

Job search methods

Education	Contact relatives and friends	Apply through mass-media	Direct inquiries and others	Total %	n
Primary & below	75.0	12.5	12.5	100	24
Junior S	67.6	11.8	20.6	100	34
Senior S	23.3	41.3	35.3	100	150
Tertiary	13.0	43.5	43.5	100	23
Total %	34.2	34.2	31.6	100	231

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

6.4.2 Dependence on other people's help and types of help: between sponsored and contest mobility

Ideally, recruitment of new employees is based on the potential productivity of the job seekers. However, this ideal condition, in a high unemployment situation, is likely to be affected by the power relations in the social context. Turner (1959:260) distinguishes two types of mobility: contest and sponsored mobility. The former reflects the meritocratic value in which merit can be achieved by the masses through their own efforts. The latter reflects class maintenance of the elite, where the elite and their agents determine recruitment, and the entry criteria are beyond the productive characteristics of the job seekers.

Similarly, Bourdieu (1986:147, 152-55) asserted that parents of high social class could help their children who failed in their education from down-classing through the deployment of their assets, social qualification (class origin) and 'creative redefinition and creation' of a job by which they could obtain 'prestige' and legitimate control over that job. So types of help based on property and social assets were important in Bourdieu's concept of class maintenance.

As Chapter 8 shows, however, there were no significant differences in occupational attainment between those who were helped and those who were not helped; nevertheless, for those who were helped in particular, 'non-connection' (mostly financial help) could bring job seekers into a higher occupation than 'connection'.

In the current study, 40 per cent of young employees were helped by other people in finding their current jobs (Appendix 6.1). Logistic regression analysis reveals that those who were born to a non-Moslem mother, who obtained job information from their family members, who had no vocational training experience, who lived in Jakarta, and who were males and young were more likely to be helped in finding jobs (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3.
Logistic regression of the probability of employees 15 to 29 years being helped by other people in finding their current jobs, three cities of Java, 1994 (N=2026).
(Helped by other people was coded 1 and with no help coded 0).

Independent variables	Cases	Regression coefficient					Standard-ized
		Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	
Sex							
Females	856						
Males	1170	.35***	.34***	.33**	.27**	.28**	.13**
		(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.10)	(.05)
Age	2026	-.04**	-.04*	-.04*	-.03*	-.03*	-.09*
		(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.05)
Number of sib.	2026	.03	.02	.01	.01	.003	.007
		(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.05)
Place of birth							
Rural	222						
Urban	1804		.01	-.09	-.05	-.05	-.01
			(.15)	(.17)	(.17)	(.17)	(.06)
Region							
Jakarta	1130		.32***	.33***	.33***	.37***	.36***
			(.07)	(.08)	(.07)	(.08)	(.08)
Semarang	379		-.09	-.10	-.09	-.10	-.10
			(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)
Surabaya	517						
Ethnicity							
Babesuma	529		.01	.001	.001	-.03	-.03
			(.08)	(.08)	(.08)	(.08)	(.08)
Javanese	1013		.11	.13	.13	.13	.13
			(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)
Others	482						
Rel. of mother							
Non-Moslem	280						
Moslem	1746		-.45*	-.44*	-.46*	-.48*	-.15*
			(.16)	(.16)	(.16)	(.16)	(.05)
Parents' educ	2026			-.001	.01	.01	.01
				(.01)	(.02)	(.02)	(.05)
Father's occ.							
Professional	75			.17	. 18	.23	.23
				(.20)	(.20)	(.21)	(.21)
Clerical	242			.05	.08	.08	.08
				(.13)	(.13)	(.13)	(.13)
Trades	507			.02	.02	-.02	-.01
				(.10)	(.10)	(.10)	(.10)
Services	168			.07	.06	.05	.05
				(.14)	(.14)	(.14)	(.14)
Production	849			-.03.	-..05	-.06	-.06
				(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.09)
Farmers	148						
Education	2026				-.01	-.01	-.03
					(.01)	(.01)	(.06)
Voc. training							
No training	1201						
Trained	825				-.77**	-.35**	-.17**
					(.10)	(.11)	(.05)
Marital status							
Single	1550						
Married	476					.04	.02
						(.12)	(.05)
Migration status							
Non-migrant	1647						
Migrant	379					-.01	-.01
						(.16)	(.06)
Source of info.							
Non-family	547						
Family members	1479					.80***	.31***
						(.10)	(.04)
Constant		.1311	.4166	.6270	.5892	.2870	-.6647
-2 Log Likelihood	2661.21	2631.48	2614.35	2611.45	2598.68	2511.99	2540.67
Model Chi-square		21.72	46.85	49.75	62.52	113.98**	120.53***
Improvement		21.72***	25.13***	2.90	12.77**	.51.46***	

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
( ), *, ** and *** see note at Table 3.3.

Figure 6.1

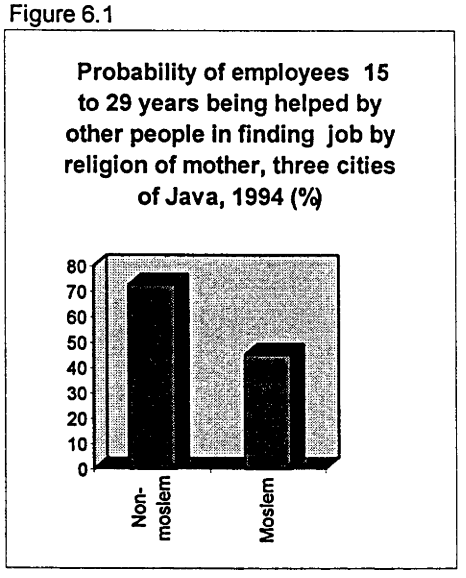


Figure 6.2

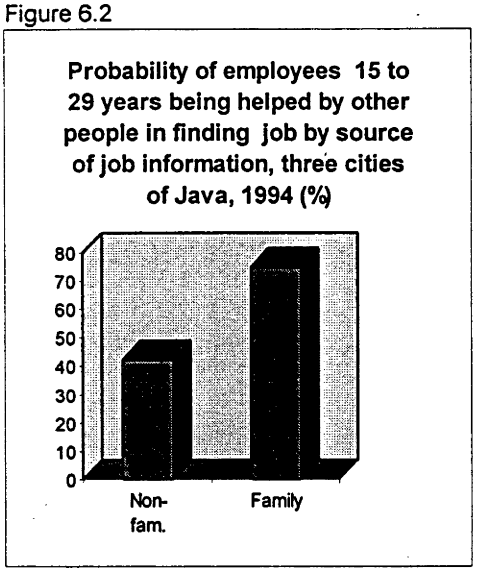


Figure 6.3

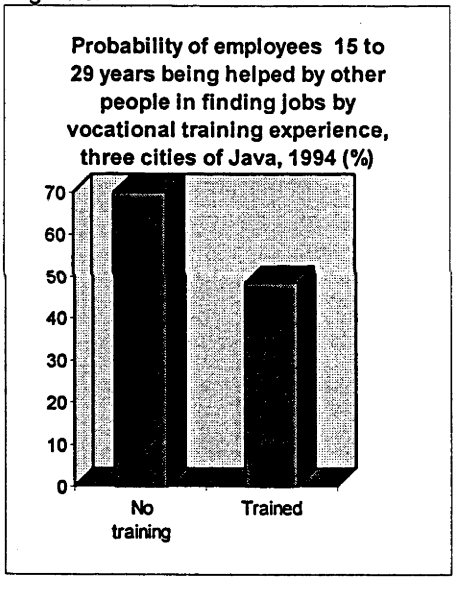
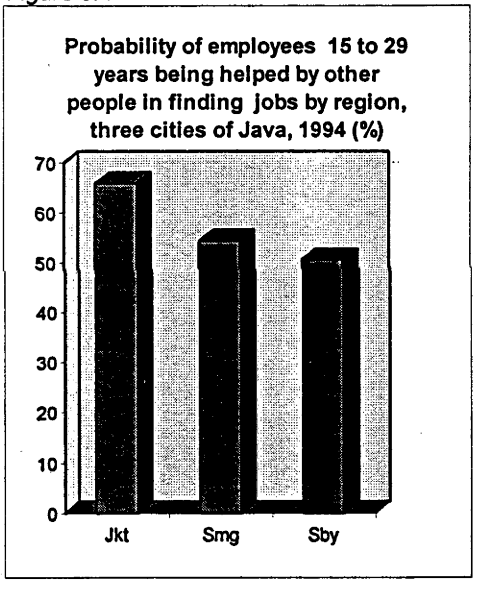


Figure 6.4



Source: Table 6.3.

Among job seekers with a non-Moslem background, the probability of getting help was higher than for those from a Moslem background (Figure 6.1). Whether the strength of kinship networks –thus 'ethnic solidarity' that could provide help– was different among people of different religious groups needs to be verified. Nevertheless, among non-Moslems, around half were from the Chinese

ethnic group, with most of their parents being employers, so, apparently, their younger generation could find help in seeking a job.

The source of job information has the second greatest effect after religion of mother on the probability of obtaining help (Figure 6.2). Apparently, in cases where the family members knew job opportunities were available in a particular place, they passed on the information and subsequently gave help to the job seeker in the family.

It is understandable that youth with no vocational training experience and in the younger age group were also more likely to be helped in finding a job (Figure 6.3). Vocational training such as computer training, electronics, mechanics, and carpentry may have enabled job seekers is more specific in their job search. On the other hand, additional attributes of job seekers that have this training as well as their educational qualification may enable the employer to more easily estimate their skill and productivity levels. This situation also indicates that investment in human capital results in more independence among job seekers.

Youth who were working in Jakarta were more likely to be helped in finding a job compared to workers in other places (Figure 6.4). Jakarta is a major destination of job seekers, and this may result in tight competition which in turn involves other people, mostly family members or relatives, in sponsoring the job seekers in the competition.

Younger employees were more likely to be helped in finding a job (Figure 6.5), because most of them were apparently newcomers to the labour market who lacked experience and had fewer social contacts with potential employers.

In a patriarchal society such as in Java, daughters were discriminated against, because sons were supposed to be the 'backbone' of their household's economy. So it is understandable that sons were more likely than daughters to be

helped by their parents in finding jobs (Figure 6.6). It is probable that lack of participation in the labour force among females as part of the social stratification process was also related to lack of parental support for females in finding jobs.

Figure 6.5

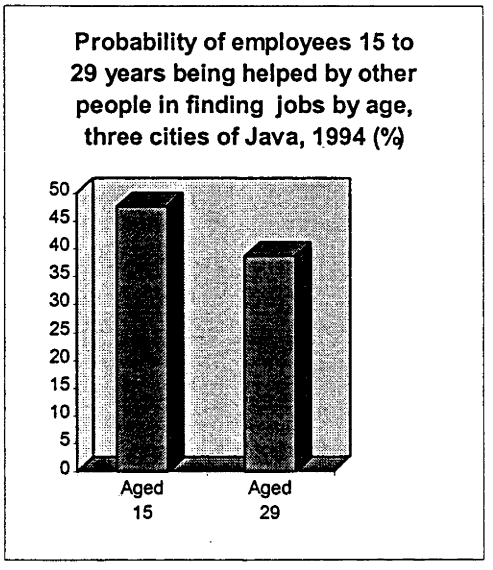
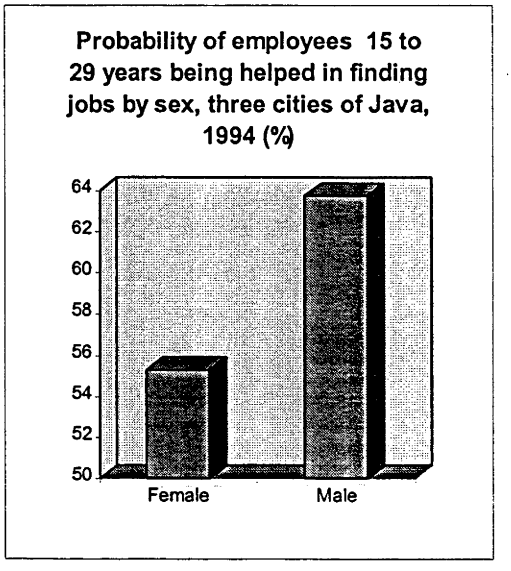


Figure 6.6



Source: Table 6.3.

Table 6.4

Total effect, direct effect and indirect effect[a] of variables on whether employees 15 to 29 years were helped by other people in finding a job, three cities of Java, 1994

Independent variables	Total effect	Direct effect	Indirect effect	Indirect / Total effect
Sex	.35***	.28**	-.07	.20
Age	-.04**	-.03*	-.01	.25
Siblings	.03	.003	-.02	.66
Place of birth	.01	-.05	-.06	6.00
Region				
Jakarta	.32***	.37***	+.05	.16
Semarang	-.09	-.10	+.01	.11
Ethnicity				
Babesuma	.01	-.03	-.04	2.00
Javanese	.11	.13	+.02	.18
Religion of mother	-.45*	-.48*	+.03	.07
Education of parents	-.001	.01	-.02	10.00
Father's occupation				
Professional	.17	.23	+.05	.29
Clerical	.05	.08	+.03	.60
Trades	.02	-.02	-.04.	2.00
Services	.07	.05	-.02	.29
Production	-.03	-.06	+.03	1.00
Education	-.01	-.01	.00	.00
Vocational training	-.77**	-.35**	-.42	.54
Marital status	.04	.04	.00	.00
Migration status	-.01	-.01	.00	.00
Source of information	.80***	.80***	.00	.00

Source: Table 6.3. [a] See note on Table 3.4.

As shown in Table 6. 4 most of the variables operate in direct ways. Only vocational training has a considerable indirect effect that was largely mediated by source of job information. Possibly, those with no vocational training faced more difficulties in finding a job and were helped by their family members who had found the job information.

In summary, first, there was a discrepancy regarding the source of job information utilized by young people who were currently seeking a job (impersonal channels) and the source of job information that effectively placed the job seekers into employment (personal channels). This finding indicates that facing the rejection of the application, job seekers and their families deployed their social resource to obtain valuable and effective job information.

Second, the educated people were more likely to seek a job through weak social ties than less educated people. This finding supports Granovetter's as well as Bourdieu's theory, that those with greater resource (educated) have a better access to impersonal networks, because they tend to have contacts other than family members (Granovetter) and have greater social space to maneuver (Bourdieu).

Third, the likelihood of getting help in job acquisition seems to differ according to norms and the priority in the family (sons rather than daughters and the younger rather than older children, and job seekers who have no vocational training experience), the levels of appropriateness which differ according to the labour market (region) and the availability of chance and support (job seekers who obtained job information from their family members and with non-Moslem mother). This finding appears to support social reproduction theory, that resource conversion practice depends on the 'state' instrument of social reproduction (in this case 'family norm'), the availability of resources and social context (field).

6.4.3 Social ties of helpers and types of help

6.4.3.1. Social ties of helpers

This section (6.4.3) focuses on the employed respondents who were helped by other people in finding a job. So the population under study were the 40 per cent of employees that *mostly* obtained job information from their family members, had no vocational training experience, lived in Jakarta, and were males and young, and were born to non-Moslem mothers.

Granovetter (1973 divides the strength of ties which relate the job seekers to the helpers into three categories: strong ties, weak ties and no ties. In this study, families and relatives were categorized as strong ties; friends or friends of family members as weak ties; and employment agencies or persons assumed to know neither the family of origin nor the job seeker's work before the job seeker contacted them were regarded as no ties.

Some research findings in other countries show no clear pattern of difference between segments of the labour market in using job search methods[4]. In this study, among employees who found a job with other people's help, more than half (55.5 per cent) were helped by their friends, 41.6 per cent were helped by families or relatives and only 3 per cent were helped by 'others'. The roles of government and private agencies in helping the young workers enter employment were negligible (Table 6.5).

It is interesting to note that although in general the probability of getting help has no significant correlation to the socio-economic status of the parents, (Table 6.3), the characteristics of persons who helped the job seekers who are

[4] Parnes et al. cited in Granovetter (1974:51) found that among school leavers aged 14-24 who have found professional and technical occupations, 'personal contacts' were rarely used, whereas most semiskilled and unskilled workers were using this method. On the other hand, Grannovetter (1976:18) found that younger people with professional, technical and managerial work mostly used 'personal contacts' in finding their current jobs. Casson's finding on Europe shows that approximately one-third of school leavers obtained their first jobs through parents and relatives (see Roberts, 1984:38-56).

currently employed are significantly correlated with the socio-economic status of their parents (Table 6.5). Children of parents with high educational qualification were more likely to be helped by friends, while children of parents with low educational qualification were more likely to be helped by their family or relatives. Accordingly, one could speculate that people who helped employees in finding jobs tended to have a relationship with their parents' position and parents' social network rather than with the son's or daughter's social network. It is understandable that parents' 'old boys' networks' could help their friend's sons or daughters, while school leavers seem unlikely to have an effective social network that could help them to enter into employment. In this regard, unlike Granovetter's (1974) theory which neglects the direct role of parents in job search, Bourdieu emphasizes that parents' involvement in their children's job search is an important factor in the transformation of social structure (cited on the first page of this chapter).

Table 6.5.
Social ties of people who helped employees 15 to 29 years in finding a job, by parental background, in three cities of Java, 1994

Independent variables	Families	Friends	Others	Total %	n	Phi	P
Education of parents						.157	**
<Primary	47.9	48.9	3.2	100	126		
Primary	46.5	50.1	3.4	100	327		
Junior S	43.7	54.7	3.6	100	193		
Senior S>	42.9	55.6	1.5	100	196		
Types of help						.234	***
Non-connection	50.6	47.4	2.0	100	253		
Connection	37.7	58.9	3.4	100	589		
Total	41.6	55.5	3.0	100	842		

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
P = Person chi-square probability. ** and *** see note on Table 3.3

6.4.3.2. Types of help

In this study types of help were defined as effective help which brought job seekers into their current employment. Although job seekers apparently received multiple help in obtaining a job, unfortunately the data only documents the *most important* help that brought them into employment. It is probable that job

seekers obtained help this was ineffective, because money and social capital can be mobilized and converted into market capital (jobs) only through an appropriate social context. As a rare asset, potentials help is distributed in a non-random pattern. According to Bourdieu, the chance of obtaining the rare assets depends on an individual's 'social space' and 'geographical space' (Bourdieu, 1986:124).

Types of help were categorized into three groups: first, site and business permits and capital loans that were given to 11 per cent of employees, second (and most common) connections (70 per cent), and third, help given to the young employees and capital grants and training which were given to 18 per cent of employees (Appendix Table 6.2). Later, help is divided into two groups: connection (social capital) and non-connection (mostly money capital)..

The regression result shows that the type of help obtained was independent of the characteristics of job seekers but dependent on the occupation of father, region and on whether their family members have job information. If their family members had job information, if their fathers were in trades occupation and the targeted jobs were in Jakarta, job seekers were more likely to be helped with non-connection (Table 6.6, Figures 6.7, 6.8, and 6.9). This may imply that the type of help obtained varies across parents' 'social or market position' and employment setting.

Although employees in Jakarta were more likely to obtain help in finding jobs (Table 6.3), they were less likely to obtain jobs through connections than employees in other cities (Table 6.6). This may indicate that connections were widely utilized outside Jakarta, probably more commonly in traditional sectors or in a place where occupations were more racially or ethnically segregated; whereas in Jakarta, where the modern sector was more prominent, connections seem to be irrelevant, more difficult or costly to obtain.

If the persons who gave job information were among the family members, they were more likely to give 'non-connection' help. Apparently, family members who gave job information also then gave financial help. Connections – which involve intermediaries – on the other hand, were more likely to be given by non-family members (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.6
Logistic regression of the probability of using connections employees 15 to 29 years, three cities of Java, 1994 (N=822)

Independent variables	Cases	Regression coefficient					Standard-ized
		Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	
Sex							
Females	323						
Males	519	-.29	-.23	-.19	-.20	-.20	-10
		(.17)	(.17)	(.17)	(.17)	(.18)	(.09)
Age	842	.01	.01	.001	.001	-.01	-.01
		(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.09)
Number of sibl.	842	-.06*	-.02	-.01	-.001	.003	.01
		(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.08)
Place of birth							
Rural	95						
Urban	747		.62*	.41	.41	.52	.16
			(.23)	(.28)	(.28)	(.36)	(.11)
Region							
Jakarta	525		-.48**	-.54**	-.54**	-.57**	-.57**
			(.13)	(.14)	(.14)	(.14)	(.14)
Semarang	144		.18	.26	.26	.25	.25
			(.17)	(.18)	(.18)	(.18)	(.18)
Surabaya	173						
Ethnicity							
Babesuma	237		-.27*	-.20	-.19	-.17	-.17
			(.12)	(.13)	(.13)	(.13)	(.13)
Javanese	401		.18	.12	.12	.11	.11
			(.18)	(.12)	(.12)	(.12)	(.12)
Others	204						
Rel. of mother							
Non-Moslem	122						
Moslem	720		.04	.01	.01	.01	.01
			(.29)	(.30)	(.30)	(.30)	(.09)
Parents' educ.	842			.01	.01	.02	.05
				(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.10)
Father's occ.							
Professional	35			.09	.08	.06	.06
				(.34)	(.34)	(.35)	(.35)
Clerical	105			.22	.23	.24	.23
				(.24)	(.24)	(.24)	(.24)
Trades	72			-.56**	-.57**	-.52*	-.51*
				(.17)	(.17)	(.17)	(.17)
Services	341			.47	.48	.51	.51
				(.28)	(.28)	(.28)	(.28)
Production	58			.08	.08	.10	.10
				(.15)	(.16)	(.16)	(.16)
Farmers							
Education	842				.01	.01	.02
					(.02)	(.02)	(.10)
Voc. training							
No training	542						
Trained	300				-.07	-.06	-.03
					(.19)	(.19)	(.09)
Marital status							
Single	653						
Married	189					-.01	-.01
						(.21)	(.10)
Migration status							
Non-migrant	683						
Migrant	159					.19	.07
						(.30)	(.11)
Source of info.							
Non-family	310						
Family members	532					-.45*	-.17*
						(.17)	(.06)
Constant		.9769	.5420	.8518	.8261	.9301	1.29986
-2 Log Likelihood	953.91	947.25	907.62	890.18	889.99	882.77	882.77
Model Chi-square		6.66*	46.29**	63.73***	63.91***	71.14***	71.14***
Improvement		6.66*	39.63***	17.44**	0.18	8.77**	

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
( ), *, ** and *** see note at Table 3.3.

Figure 6.7

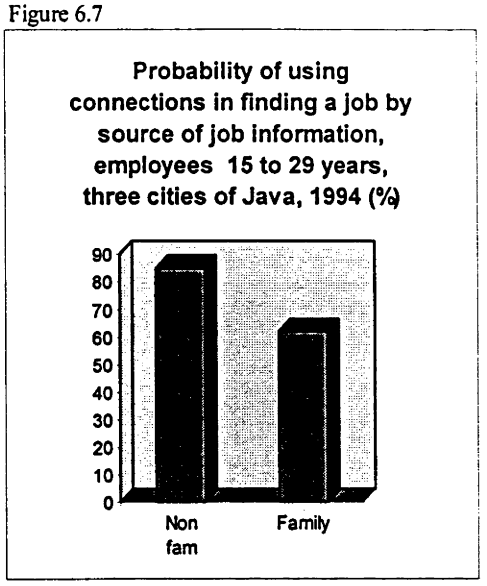


Figure 6.8

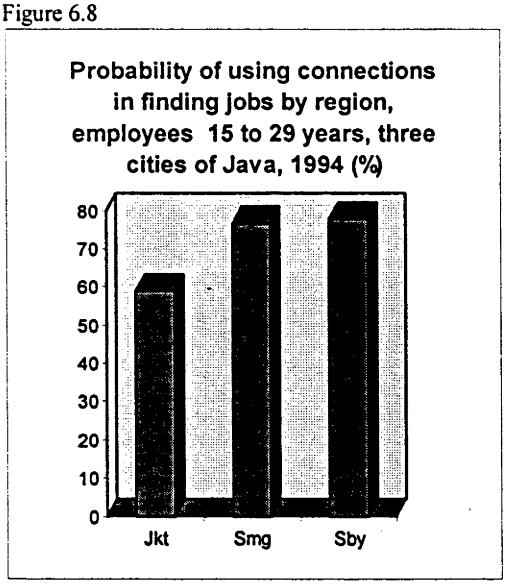
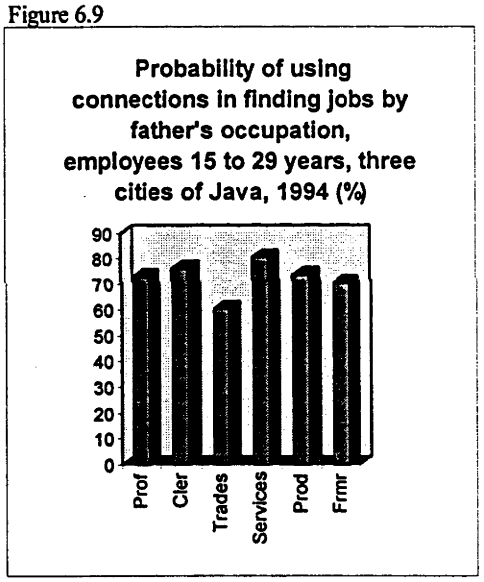


Figure 6.9



Source: Table 6.6.

If the matching process relates job seekers to job-assigning authorities, with both sides related through information and influence (Granovetter, 1973, 1974, 1995), the above situation implies two different patterns. The line of information of those who obtained non-connection help was: employers passed the job information to one of the family members of job seekers (strong ties) and then the relative passed the information to job seekers, and the effect was that job seekers were

more likely to obtain help. The response (line of influence) was: job seekers to strong ties (who then give them financial help), to employers. In this interaction, family members (strong ties) were likely to have a closer relationship to employers and to be involved directly in influencing job-assigning authorities. Through this kind of interaction, 'sponsored mobility' was also more likely to be experienced by the job seekers.

On the other hand, those who obtain job information from people out side their family members were more likely to obtain connection that were also given by non-family members. The hypothetical line of information was: employers gave job information to a person outside the job seekers' family members who then gave the information to the job seekers. The line of response or influence was job seekers to weak ties (who then give connection), to employers. Job seekers and their family have a greater distance to employers. Through this interaction, job seekers and family members were less likely to be directly involved in influencing job-assigning authorities. Efforts to influence job-assigning authorities were relinquished to the third person –the intermediary. So job acquisition in Java also shows the use of both strong ties (Bian's hypothesis, 1997) and weak ties (Granovetter's hypothesis, 1974).

Beside those whose family members have job information, children of parents with trades occupations were also more likely to be helped with non-connection (Figure 6.9). Children of parents with trades occupations were less likely to use connections, probably because they were also employed in trades occupations for which in getting the job, connections were less relevant. On the other hand, a higher probability of using connections among workers whose

parents have services occupations was plausible since recruitment through personal and kinship networks was common in such occupations[5]

The indirect effects of variables on the probability of using connections were mediated largely through father's occupation and source of job information. Great changes in the coefficients of place of birth (decreases), region (Jakarta, decreases) and ethnicity (Babesuma, decreases) after the inclusion of father's occupation in the model (Table 6.6—Model C to D) may indicate that the chance of using connections among job seekers with different places of birth, regions and ethnicities is partly due to different occupations of their parents.

Another interesting picture is that the coefficient of region (Jakarta) was negatively increasing and father's occupation (trades) was moderately decreasing after source of information was included in the model. This may imply that different chances of obtaining connections among job seekers with different places of residence and parental occupational backgrounds are particularly due to different sources of job information. So the source of job information is an important variable in the variation of obtaining connections. Nevertheless, father's occupation and especially region also have independent direct effects (improvements of the model chi-square were 17.4 and 39.6 respectively) on the chance of getting connections.

[5] A lower probability of obtaining connections among employees with parents in high occupations such as in professional- managerial and clerical work relative to employees with parents in services occupations apparently was caused by the fact that most employees with parents holding professional and managerial occupations were in the public sectors and therefore afraid of telling the truth in response to the survey questions because using 'connections' might be regarded as an offence or as less dignified. So this probability may be underestimated.

Table 6.7

Total effect, direct effect and indirect effect[a] of variables on the probability of utilizing connections among employees 15 to 29 years, three cities of Java, 1994

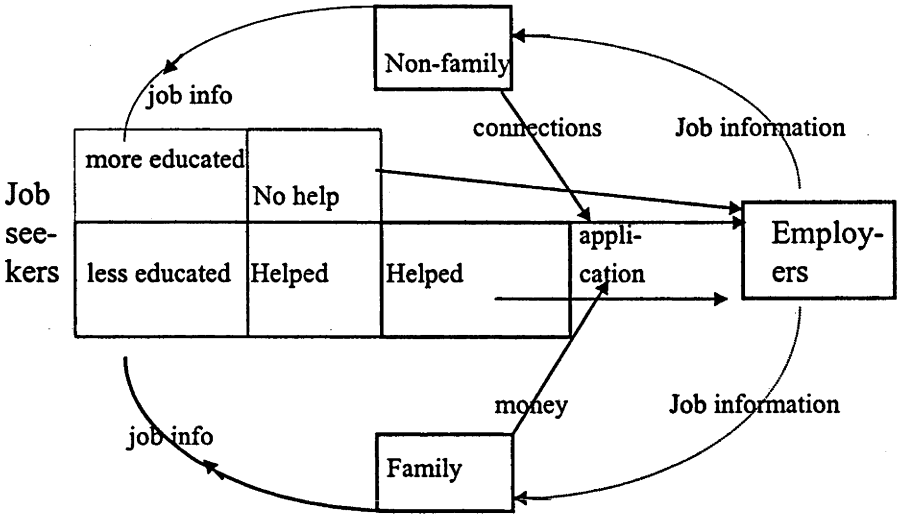
Independent variables	Total effect	Direct effect	Indirect effect	Indirect / Total effect
Sex	-.29	-.20	-.09	.31
Age	.01	-.01	-.02	2.00
Siblings	-.06*	.003	-.06	1.00
Place of birth	.62*	.52	-.10	.16
Region				
Jakarta	-.48**	-.57**	+.09	.19
Semarang	.18	.25	+.07	.39
Ethnicity				
Babesuma	-.27*	-.17	-.10	.37
Javanese	.18	.11	-.10	.55
Religion of mother	.04	.01	-.03	.75
Education of parents	.01	.01	.00	.00
Father's occupation				
Professional	.09	.06	-.03	.33
Clerical	.22	.24	+.02	.09
Trades	-.56**	-.52*	-.04	.07
Services	.47	.51	+.04	.08
Production	.08	.10	+.02	.25
Education	.01	.01	.00	.00
Vocational training	-.07	-.07	.00	.00
Marital status	-.01	-.01	.00	.00
Migration status	.19	.190	.00	.00
Family as source of information	.-.45*	-.45*	.00	.00

Source: Table 6.6

[a] see note on Table 3.4.

The interpretation of this situation is that the chance of obtaining connection as an effective help depends on the nature of the organization (personal vs. impersonal) of the firm (which seems to differ from one region to another), and social proximity of their parents toward the targeted jobs (which differs according to their fathers' occupation and the availability of job information in the family). So the type of help obtained depends on the employment setting and their parent or family's position in the market. So, appropriate converters and context are pre-requisites for mobilizing a particular social resource. The summary of this section is shown in Figure 6.10.

Figure 6.10: Job information, social ties and help.



Helped	=more likely among males, young, living in Jakarta, non-Moslem, no vocational training, sources of job information is family members
Connections	= more likely to be given to people outside Jakarta, with fathers are in non-trades (especially services), sources of job information is non-family members.

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment, 1994'.

Since the types of help obtained are independent of job seekers' characteristics and regarded as parents' efforts to prevent their children from 'down-classing', different occupational outcome resulting from different types of help (see Chapter 8), can be regarded as a product of the different social and market position of their parents. In this regard, through different types of help given to their children, parents' social and market position influence the market prospects of their children. Therefore, parental structural position is a factor that generates social inequality.

Why are connections less effective than money for obtaining higher occupations? This question is studied in Chapter 8.

6.5 The relationship of social origin and educational attainment to the length of unemployment

6.5.1 Introduction

One of the aspects of job-seeking behaviour is the length of unemployment. In this study the length of unemployment is an open-ended period, and refers to the duration experienced by both the discouraged and job seekers combined, owing to the small number of cases. This open-ended period is a major weakness of the data. Another drawback of the data on the length of unemployment, as Jones (1981:331) mentioned, was the difficulty concerning when the job search was started. The length of unemployment in this study was based on the job seekers' own acknowledgement, in which the starting time of unemployment may vary according to their different condition.

According to search theory (Mortensen, 1970, cited in Fergus, 1994:15), the job seekers' wage reservation is crucial in determining whether they will continue or stop searching if a job is offered with a certain wage level. If the wage offered is lower than the reservation wage level, then the job seeker will continue the search. The higher the reservation wages the longer the likely search or unemployment period. The additional search depends largely on the expected marginal return from additional job options and their wage dispersion compared to the marginal cost of the additional search. Since job options and the wage dispersion are largely determined by the skill possessed by job seekers, educated job seekers tend to continue the search and lengthen the unemployment period compared to less educated job seekers. This theory also implies that a greater marginal return is expected from a longer stay in the job, therefore, job seekers who intend to stay

longer in the job (younger rather than older job seekers) tend to search longer (Black, 1981:131). Aklilu and Harris (1986:160) indicated that besides having wider job dispersion, the educated tended to have a better economic support from their family to continue searching for a job or remaining unemployed. Manning and Junankar (forthcoming) called this the 'luxury hypothesis': those who came from better family backgrounds can afford a longer unemployment period.

The wage competition theory and luxury hypothesis, however, very much emphasize the supply side, and also assume that job seekers are pre-occupied with an almost unlimited number of better job opportunities that can be found by means of additional searches. In a situation of high unemployment, among educated people in particular, this assumption may not be relevant. In high unemployment among educated people, job seekers are competing for very limited job offers. Additional search may not be assumed to be beneficial, if job seekers assume that there will be no 'appropriate' job left for them since new job seekers with better qualifications are entering the race (Thurow, 1975:96, 124). This 'rush' seems likely to result in a situation where the higher the education of job seekers, the higher the opportunity cost or earnings forgone if they remain unemployed, therefore, the shorter the likely period of job search among the educated people than the less educated people (Hinchliffe, 1987:146). If they are eager to accept the lower status jobs, the job opportunities left for the less educated people will be marginalized and they will experience a longer period of unemployment – if there is no job opportunity left for them.

Similar to this theory, the resource conversion theory (Bourdieu, 1986:134) also predicts that the chief victims of the devaluation of educational qualification are those who lack education. Unlike queue theory which emphasizes the matching of queue to occupational rank which appears to be mechanistic, resources

conversion theory emphasizes that the elasticity of resources to be mobilized, and segregation (such as according to sex, ethnicity and class) diffuses the effect of devaluation of educational qualifications. Those who have elastic resources and those who are in dominant position in the social structure can minimize the effect of devaluation through mobilizing their assets and their wider 'social space' and control over access to jobs. This theory implies that school leavers' unemployment differs according to, among other things, parental social class background, sex, and ethnicity.

6.5.2 Length of unemployment

6.5.2.1 The direct effect of various variables on the length of unemployment

The logistic regression result shows that sex, age, father's occupation, respondent's education and vocational training experience have significant direct effects on the length of unemployment (Table 6.8 or Figures 6.11–6.15). Those who were males, in the younger age group, with better education, with vocational training, or whose parents had a production occupation, were likely to have a shorter unemployment period. Children of parents with high educational qualifications also tended to have a shorter unemployment period (significant at .07).

A longer unemployment period among those in higher age groups is understandable, since their exposure to being unemployed was also longer (Figure 6.11). It is understandable that males have a shorter unemployment period since they are under greater pressure to find a job than females (Figure 6.12). Those with better educational qualifications and with vocational training have a greater probability of experiencing a shorter unemployment period (Figures 6.13, 6.14).

As shown in Table 6.8 (Model D), educational factors, besides having significant direct effects, have also mediated considerable indirect effects of some

variables: age, sex, ethnicity and parents' education and father's occupation. The coefficients of variables which have significant effects, sex, parents' education and father's occupation, also changed markedly after respondent's educational variables were put into the model.

Table 6.8.

Logistic regression of the length of unemployment among school leavers 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994 (N=414). (The length of unemployment below one year was coded 0 and above one year was coded 1)

Independent Variables	Cases	Regression coefficient					Standard-ized
		Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	
Sex							
Females	148						
Males	274	-.35	-.37	-.43*	-.58*	-.57*	-.28*
		(.21)	(.21)	(.22)	(.24)	(.24)	(.12)
Age	422	-.01	.01	.02	.08*	.08*	.27*
		(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.13)
Number of sibl.	422	-.04	-.05	-.06	-.06	-.06	-.14
		(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.11)
Place of birth							
Rural	19						
Urban	403		.27	.58	.64	.29	.09
			(.51)	(.57)	(.58)	(.67)	(.20)
Region							
Jakarta	278		.01	.01	.06	.05	.05
			(.18)	(.19)	(.20)	(.20)	(.20)
Semarang	47		.02	.02	-.01	-.01	-.01
			(.23)	(.24)	(.25)	(.26)	(.26)
Surabaya	97						
Ethnicity							
Babesuma	133		.27	.16	.06	.05	.05
			(.16)	(.17)	(.17)	(.17)	(.17)
Javanese	193		-.04	.05	.14	.14	.14
			(.16)	(.17)	(.18)	(.18)	(.18)
Others	96						
Rel. of mother							
Non-Moslem	26						
Moslem	296		.81	.42	.75	.78	.25
			(.52)	(.55)	(.56)	(.57)	(.18)
Parents' educ.	422			-.15***	-.09*	-.08 *a)*	-.24 *a)*
				(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.13)
Father's occup.							
Professional	17			-.20	-.12	-.19	-.19
				(.52)	(.52)	(.53)	(.53)
Clerical	82			.22	.32	.29	.29
				(.26)	(.27)	(.27)	(.27)
Trades	89			.01	.16	.14	.14
				(.26)	(.27)	(.27)	(.27)
Services	34			.13	.08	.04	.04
				(.35)	(.35)	(.36)	(.36)
Production	190			-.47*	-.54*	-.59*	-.59*
				(.22)	(.23)	(.23)	(.23)
Farmers	10						
Education	422				-.10**	-.10**	-.14**
					(03)	(.03)	(.13)
Voc. training							
No training	295						
Trained	127				-.82**	-.81**	-.39**
					(.28)	(.28)	(.14)
Marital status							
Single	390						
Married	32					.38	.17
						(.44)	(.20)
Migration status							
Non-migrant	391						
Migrant	31					-.67	-.25
						(.56)	(.21)
Constant		-.1054	-1.2045	-.2209	-.9458	-.5287	-.4990
-2 Log Likelihood	544.74	540.74	533.59	512.43	488.42	486.29	486.29
Model Chi-square		3.56	10.71	31.87**	55.87***	58.00***	58.00***
Improvement		3.56	7.15	21.16**	24.00***	2.12	

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

a) = significant at .07.

( ), *, ** and *** see note on Table 3.3.

Figure 6.11

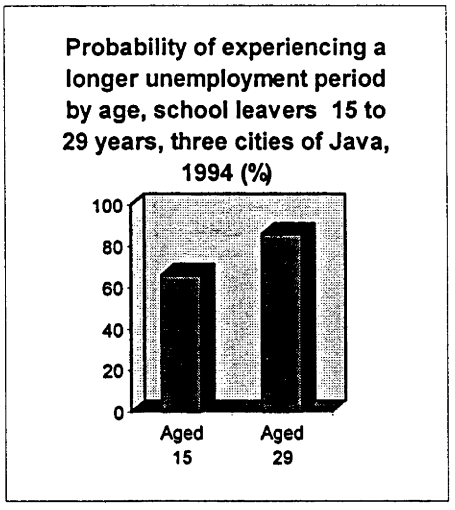


Figure 6.12

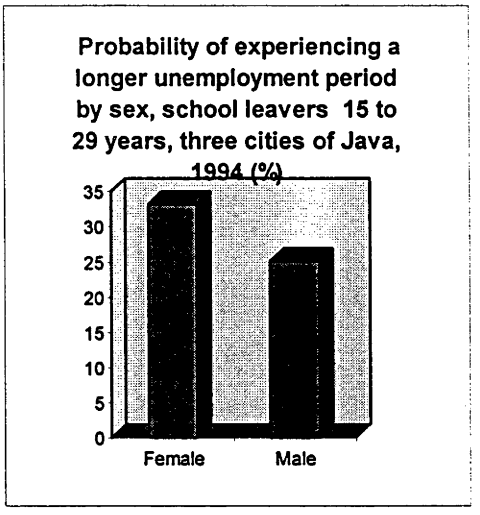


Figure 6.13

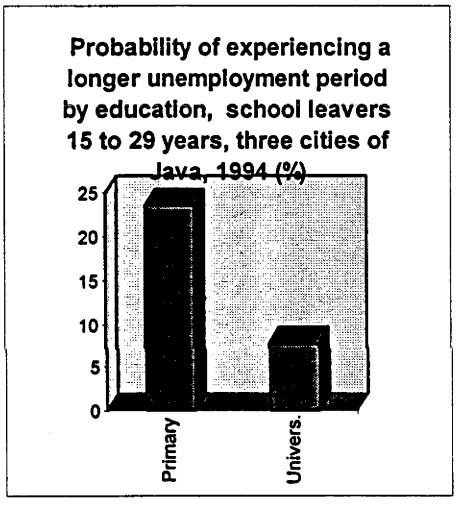
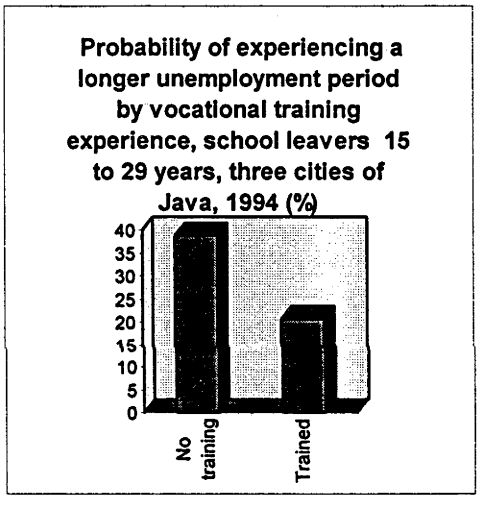


Figure 6.14



Source: Table 6.8.

So in this study 'educational characteristics of respondents' is the key variable for explaining the length of unemployment. The negative relationship between educational qualification and the length of unemployment found in this data refutes search theory and human capital theory and supports social reproduction (or resource conversion) theory. Nevertheless, Chapter 5 shows otherwise: a positive effect of educational qualification on the probability of searching for a job while employed (Figure 5.16). Similar to the case of education was the case of males: they tend to have a shorter unemployment period (Figure

6.11), but are more likely to search for an alternative job if employed (Figure 5.1) and probably also have a longer search while employed.

Similarly, children of parents in production occupations have a shorter unemployment period than children of parents in other occupations. (Figure 6.14). However, as shown in chapter 5 (Figure 5.15), the former are more likely to continue the search than children of parents in other occupations if employed, and probably they also search longer while employed.

If this is the case, these theories face paradoxes. In regard to the effect of sex, education and vocational training, for example, if the issue is unemployment period, human capital theory is proved wrong and social reproduction theory is right, but if the issue is the length of job search (including search while employed), the result *could be* the other way around. The data, unfortunately, provide no verifying information on the length of search while employed.

If the search modes, outside and inside employment, are a continuum, the question is then: is there any shift of job search from outside to inside employment? (The next section indicates this trend). If this is the case, the unemployment period (outside employment) is becoming peripheral and the length of job search while employed is becoming central to the issue of the duration of job search. So a clear definition about the length of job search, outside or inside employment or both, is needed to achieve a fruitful discussion in the future.

Figure 6.15

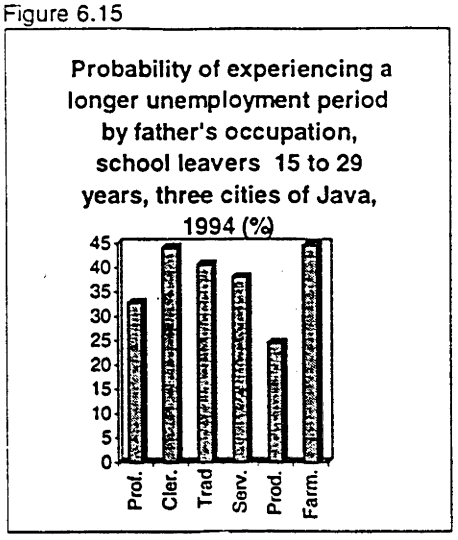
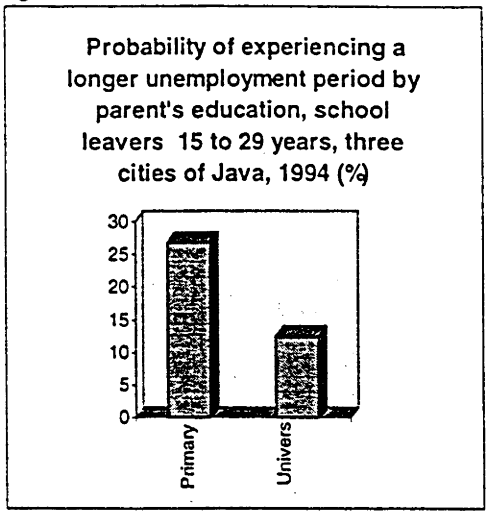


Figure 6.16



Source: Table 6.8.

Table 6.9

Total effect, direct effect and indirect effect[a] of variables on the length of unemployment period, school leavers 15 to 29 years, three cities of Java, 1994.

Independent variables	Total effect	Direct effect	Indirect effect	Indirect / Total effect
Sex	-.35	-.57*	+.22	.62
Age	-.01	.08	-.09	9.00
Siblings	-.04	-.06	+.02	.50
Place of birth	.27	.29	+.02	.07
Region				
Jakarta	.01	.05	+.03	3.00
Semarang	.02	-.01	-.03	1.50
Ethnicity				
Babesuma	.27	.05	-.25	.92
Javanese	-.04	.14	-.18	4.50
Religion of mother	.81	.78	-.03	.03
Education of parent	-.15***	-.08*	-.07	.47
Father's occupation				
Professional	-.20	-.19	-.01	.05
Clerical	.22	.29	+.07	.31
Trades	.01	.14	+.13	13.00
Services	.13	.04	-.09	.69
Production	-.47*	-.59*	+.12	.25
Education	-.10**	-.10**	.00	.00
Vocational training	-.82**	-.81**	-.01	.00
Marital status	.38	.38	.00	.00
Migration status	-.67	-.67	.00	.00

Source: Table 6.8

[a] See note on Table 3.4.

Regardless of that issue, the effect of parents' education on search behaviour seems to be consistent. Those whose parents had better education were likely to experience a shorter unemployment period and to find a matched job, and less likely to seek an alternative job, than those whose parents had less education (see Table 6.10). This finding supports social reproduction theory and provides no support to the luxury hypothesis.

Table 6.10
Respondents' characteristics, parental background, unemployment period, job satisfaction and search for alternative jobs, youth 15 to 29 years, three cities of Java, 1994

Variables	Longer unemploy-ment period	Found matched job *a)*	Searching for alternative job *a)*
Sex (males)	No	No	Yes
Levels of education (high)	No	No	Yes
Vocat.training (yes)	No	No	Yes
Father's occupation	No clear pattern	No clear pattern	No clear pattern
Parents' education (high)	No	Yes	No

Source: Survey Data 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
Note: *a)* Based on Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

The negative relationship between levels of education and length of unemployment was surprising, because the Sakernas (National Labour Force Survey, 1988) shows the reverse pattern: the higher the education an individual has received, at least up to secondary high school level, the longer the likely unemployment period[6].

Some of the possible explanations of why educated children and whose parents with high socio-economic status have shorter unemployment period, besides the possible job competition mechanism mentioned above, were as follows. These explanations also reflect that job seekers with these characteristics have or found greater social space to maneuver.

First, the introduction of the *wiyata bhakti* scheme as employment policy in the public sector. This sector attracts most educated people and tends to lengthen the unemployment period through limited opportunity or slow decision process and bureaucratic delay (Cobbe and Boediono, 1992:195), but since 1990, many educated people have attached themselves to the *wiyata bhakti* scheme in the public sector, since with this attachment they received priority for new recruits

[6] In Sakernas, the proportions of those who were unemployed for more than two months were 42 per cent primary school graduates, 48 per cent general junior secondary, 50 per cent vocational junior secondary, 57 per cent (general senior secondary), 60 per cent vocational senior secondary and 54 per cent of college graduates (Boediono and McMahon, 1993:13).

(*Gatra*, 1996: 96)[7]. Instead of waiting for a 'call', they became directly attached to this scheme right after they left school.

Secondly, rather than calling for fresh school leavers, private sectors also prefer applicants with work experience and training certificates. High participation among educated people in training programs (Chapter 3) and in *wiyata bhakti* schemes in the 1990s means that the gap between the time of leaving school and the time of entry into employment, which in the 1970s to 1980s was usually a time for school leavers to be unemployed, in the 1990s may largely be filled by those activities. Educated young people in the nineties may be induced to enter employment or further training as soon as possible, and consequently shorten their unemployment period.

It is no wonder that the reason for accepting jobs given by those with tertiary education was more tactical ('stepping-stone', 52 per cent) and almost one-fifth regarded their unmatched job as a way to gather work experience. The comparable figures for those with education below senior secondary levels were 25 and 14 per cent respectively (Table 6.11). The tactic taken by the educated people implies a hurried process. On the other hand, since the remaining employment opportunities available were residual, the reason given by the less educated employees for taking jobs was mostly that they had no choice (54 per cent).

Table 6.11
Reasons for accepting unmatched jobs by levels of education, employees 15 to 29 years, three cities of Java, 1994

	Reasons					
Education	Stepping-stone	No choice	Good salary	Work -experience and others	Total %	n
<Senior S	25.5	53.9	6.9	13.7	100	102
Senior S	35.9	49.0	4.2	10.9	100	357
Tertiary	52.5	20.3	8.5	18.6	100	59
Total	35.7	46.7	5.2	12.4	100	518

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

[7] In Central Java, in 1995, for example, where the 'registered' *wiyata bhakti* volunteers, especially primary school teachers in public schools, more than 7000, only 422 were recruited by the government (*Gatra*, 1996).

6. 6. Summary of findings

There were similar patterns of utilization of social ties among employees and unemployed: those with high educational qualifications were more likely to use weak social ties or no ties (friends and mass-media), while those with lower education were more likely to use strong social ties (family or relatives). Nevertheless, in general, regardless of their educational qualification, the current channel used by the unemployed was more likely to be impersonal networks or direct inquiries, while the channel of job information with a greater likelihood of bringing them into employment was personal networks (family members or relatives). This may indicate that after job seekers failed to find a job through impersonal networks, they turned and got a job from personal networks. So family social resource is important for bringing the unemployed into employment.

Forty per cent of employees were helped by other people to find their current jobs. The likelihood of getting help in the job acquisition seems to differ according to the priority or norms in the family (sons rather than daughters and the younger rather than older children, and those with no vocational training), the availability or chance of support (job seekers who obtained job information from their family members and with non-Moslem mothers) and the need for improving the competitiveness in the labour market (those who were searching for a job in Jakarta). So, the chance of obtaining help, thus a better position in the labour market, appears to depend on their 'geographical position' and 'social or market position'. So practice (of obtaining help) is determined by habitus (norm), resource and field (region), according to social reproduction theory.

Among those who were helped by other people in finding a job, the chance of obtaining connection was independent of the characteristics of job seekers but

dependent on the social proximity of their parents toward the targeted jobs (which differs according to their fathers' occupation and the availability of job information in the family) and regions (which apparently have different nature of work organization (more personal vs. more impersonal). So the type of help obtained depends on their parent or family's position in the market and employment setting.

Those who obtained job information from their family members were more likely to be helped with non-connection help (mostly money capital) that were more likely to be given by their family members. On the other hand, those who obtain job information from people outside their family members were more likely to obtain connection from them. Through the later flow of information, family members (strong ties) were less likely to be directly involved in influencing job-assigning authorities.

Since the types of help obtained are independent from job seekers' characteristic and regarded as parents' efforts to prevent their children from 'down-classing', therefore, different occupational outcome resulting from different types of help (see Chapter 8), can be regarded as a product of different social and market position of their parents. In this regard, through different types of help given to their children, parents' social and market position were transmitted to their children. So parents' social and market position played important role in the stratification process through the type of help given to their children.

More than half of the unemployed and job seekers has experienced less than one year of unemployment. In general, males with high educational qualifications and vocational training, and with educated parents, were likely to have a faster transition to employment. This situation provides no support for search theory and human capital theory but supports social reproduction theory.

The shorter unemployment period for these job seekers is possible for other reasons: first, job competition mechanisms in which new entrants in the labour market are better educated (Chapter 2) and there is a greater pressure on the job seekers to accept unmatched jobs. Second, recruitment policies in public as well as private sectors prefer educated job seekers who are currently attached to voluntary work schemes, and having vocational training and work experience. As a response, the gap between the time of leaving school and the time of entry into employment may largely be filled with training and attachment in the job to gather work experience. This reason also parallels the fact that educated people were eager to take unmatched jobs – and with the cost of reservation wage – for their 'stepping stone' and for obtaining work experience.

In general, the finding of this chapter is that effective search methods and shorter unemployment periods depend largely on the availability of parental and educational resources. The less the parental education and educational resources of children, the longer the unemployment period, thus the greater wastage of human resources among them. This finding refutes the assumption that is common in Indonesia that those who can afford longer unemployment are the children of the middle-class. This finding confirms social reproduction theory: those who have limited resources are marginalized and left unemployed. So parental and educational resources played an important role in the stratification process through its effects on the length of unemployment and wastage in human resources.

CHAPTER 7
JOB-SEEKING BEHAVIOUR: THE PROCESS[1]

7.1.Introduction, social reproduction theory and setting.

One aim of the present study is to describe the process and patterns of job-seeking behaviour among job seekers with different education and parents' occupation. The process refers to stages in which job seekers leave school, seek their first job, respond to unemployment, get their first job, and seek and get an alternative job. Patterns of job-seeking behaviour refer to different responses among job seekers with different levels of education and parents' occupation in each stage of the process. Both educational qualifications and parents' occupation were divided into two simple categories[2]: below and above or equal to senior secondary education, and manual occupation and non-manual occupation. As a result, four types of respondents were used to explore the search behaviour of youth. The field research was conducted in Semarang. The methodology and setting of the survey are explained in Appendix 7.1.

Although levels of education and father's occupation do not fully represent all resources mentioned by Bourdieu (1986), these variables were chosen, because they were assumed to be among the most important nexus of factors that directly or indirectly shape young people's job search behaviour. Bourdieu's (1986) social reproduction theory with its elaboration by Okano (1992), is regarded as a stimulating starting point for examining their search behaviour.

7.1.1. Job search as resource conversion.

According to Okano (1992), a job seeker's decision and the acquisition of a job result from the interaction between a job seeker's habitus (way of thinking, values and pattern of interpretation) and available resources (in school, the family

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[1] All respondent's names in this chapter are pseudonyms.

[2]Since the sample is only 30 respondents, it was not plausible to use more than four types of respondents (which are based on 2 X 2 table) to analyze the data.

and the employment market). Habitus is an acquired system of generative schema which generate perceptions, including perceptions toward occupation; thoughts, expressions and actions (Bourdieu, 1986:72-95). Therefore job-seeking behaviour l also reflects the effort to reactivate or conversely deactivate job seekers' capital or resources. This capital or resource is of five types: cultural capital, including linguistic or ethnic identity, 'taste' and educational capital; social capital, such as social network or family background and the family network of job seeker; symbolic capital such as involvement of job seekers in school or out of school organization; economic capital and bodily capital, such as being male or female, or good looking.

> The strategies which individuals and families employ with a view to safeguarding or improving their position in social space are reflected in transformations which modify both the volume of different class fractions and the structure of their assets (Bourdieu, 1986:135).

Individuals do not move in social space in a random way, because they are subject to the forces that structure this social space (Bourdieu, 1986:110). This assumption is the 'credo' of Bourdieu's social reproduction theory. Since school leavers live with their families, job search strategies are defined only in the relationships between the members of a domestic group.

7.1.2. Setting

In the last three decades in Java, the relationship between parental background, education and occupational attainment has apparently been influenced by changing value of education and the basic value of the reward system. Outside the family, the national education system, as clearly stated in the Constitution and legislation, aims to provide equal educational opportunity and qualified manpower to serve economic growth, and is delivered in the language of equals: Bahasa Indonesia.

Javanese society, however, according to Mulder (1985), is hierarchical and based on the cosmology that emphasizes hierarchy. According to Mulder

(1985:39), education in Javanese culture places less stress on character building but more on reproduction of social order. What he meant by 'character building' in his book is character building which stresses equity in particular. In the last three decades before he wrote, however, according to Mulder (1985:107), the hierarchy of the society had gradually changed from 'prestige based' in which patron-client relationship was important to 'class-based' (economic and power based) in which competition was becoming more obvious. This change was accompanied by a decline in the shelter of patronage for people in low social strata in urban areas in particular (Mulder, 1985:146).

The 'contradiction' between the 'old' and 'new' values resulting from different educational cultures and change in the reward system may also be reflected at household level: different expectations regarding the value of education may result in intergenerational conflict regarding the expected class trajectory. Uncoupled matching between children's level of education and their social class of origin may be among the conflict areas in defining the appropriate job for one's children and the way to obtain it. As a result, plans regarding future employment and life cycle –marriage for example, and the definition of rights and obligations in the house during unemployment may need to be redefined. At the social level, fair recruitment that promotes meritocracy may contradict the interest of the elite in maintaining the social class position of their children.

How young people with different educational qualifications and social backgrounds react to unemployment, and convert their individual and family resources, may show how the social order is reproduced in which young people's class membership is defined. Job-seeking behaviour of young people is important to class dynamics, in which three parties – parents, education and market – are involved. It is important that this be analyzed.

The analysis is organized into several themes: leaving school and psychological distance to employment, social background, education, work ethos and resource consolidation, searching for the first job and converting resources to that end, reaction to unemployment, use of non-educational capital and acceptance of temporary lower-status occupations. The findings are then summarized. Pursuing these themes is expected to reveal the patterns of job-search process among the four types of school leavers.

7.2. Leaving school and psychological distance to employment

7.2.1. Living at the margin

Most school leavers in this study, several days after they left school, found themselves 'feeling between the two worlds': schooling and employment. Perception of their own academic ability and parental financial ability in comparison with their peer group's plans for a higher education are important in self-positioning toward two possible tracks: schooling or employment. Asked about their feelings right after they left school, respondents revealed different attitudes toward further schooling or employment:

Type A:

> Adi (type A, case 1): 'The end of the school time is the most beautiful time' [A wrong version of a Kus-Plus' song]. At the farewell party, that was the first time I could do what I wanted to do at school. We could smoke freely, *Pak* MS! How could I feel happy with schooling, if schooling made me very tired, day and night: woke up early in the morning to do the assignments before bringing my Mum's things to the *warung* [small shop] and ashamed in school because of math... After finishing school, I just go to *warung*.... Schooling made me tired, though it's good for making friends...I have a friend, a son of a mayor,... I was born - my Mum was born, we were born of *warung* traders, *pak* MS. So, it's normal that I was not bright in school. I got senior secondary. This is good enough, my parents got no education.

Type B:

> Rofi (type B, case 2): It's sad, but not very sad. One of my sisters, like myself, is only a secondary school graduate. Two of my brothers graduated from academy. I applied to UMPTN[3] and Academy of Tourism, but what should I do, 'cos I failed the tests. My parents put the decision up to me. My parents have money, just enough for the tuition fee, but they were in doubt about my ability... It's not compulsory for a girl to get high education. It is true. But, if you got a good education you could get a better job, and probably get a good *cowok* [fiancee]. I failed in the screening tests, so, after I was *menganggur* for some time, I then took book-keeping course. Surely, it was far below my expectation.. Then I *looked for a job*.

---

[3] Ujian Masuk Perguruan Tinggi Negri (Public University Screening Test).

Type C:

TukBc (type C, case 3): It was devastating. You can imagine, I passed the UMPTN screening test, UMPTN, *pak MS*! My problem was about my father's support. He always said: 'University takes five years, it is too risky for us'... I passed the next test, but my Dad was unchangeable. I was frustrated and roared the streets at night. I was *lontang-lantung* (doing nothing) for one year. I hoped with this behaviour I could change my Dad. No, it didn't work. So, I was then *menggelandang* [to avoid or to resist working] for one more year, before I took vocational course and English course.

Type D:

Sunyoto (type D, case 4): For me, at the time when I finished Senior Secondary, the challenge just began. The competition to get a seat in the university was very tight. I remember my parents; I saw them sitting on a sticky-rice cake [*juadah, Javanese*] in the middle of the night, praying to Gusti Allah, hoping for a university seat for me. I know, money is not a big problem for them. 'Children's duty is schooling, parents' duty is praying'. That's what they are always saying. The big problem was opportunity... only God could save me! Degree in engineering was finally in my pocket, my Dad said: ' You are educated [*sarjana*], now, I hope you are wise [*sujana*]'. He didn't mention about a job, Pak MS, but in our vocabulary, *sarjana* and *sujana* can only have a meaning in occupation [*pangkat*] and social standing [*derajat*]. So, I searched for a decent job that could fulfill my talent'.

From these examples, it is clear that for those who perceive their academic ability and their parent's economic support as low or mediocre, or their educational attainment as enough, leaving school was seen as 'a release from headache or authority pressure'. Employment was seen as the 'normal track right after leaving school' or even desirable. But for those who perceived their academic ability as well as their parents' financial support to continue education as high, leaving school for reasons beyond their control was seen as a defeat. The defeat takes a long time to recover from and tends to lengthen the time interval to employment. There were different psychological conditions, each of which reflected the psychological distance to employment. With these psychological conditions there were at least three groups of school leavers: eager, non-committal and reluctant school leavers.

Between the two extreme tendencies, to directly enter employment like Adi or to continue schooling like Sunyoto, there were school leavers who took a long time to choose one of the options, like Rofi and TukBc.

Different psychological approaches, eager, non-committal and reluctant, resulting from young people's perception of their academic ability and self-identification in socio-economic groups, affect their definition of their current labour force status.

Many non-committal (type B) and reluctant school leavers (type C), rather than directly entering the labour force, saw that the time between leaving school and entering the course as a pause rather than a time of seeking a job. Most school leavers in the field defined this pause as *menganggur*. Some school leavers were experiencing this pause and rejecting or avoiding any work: *lontang-lantung* or *menggelandang* in TukBc's vocabulary.

In general, therefore, school leavers identified themselves into four different groups: A. Lack of academic performance in the classroom with lack of parental economic support; B. Lack of academic performance with good or enough parental economic support; C. Good academic performance with lack of parental economic support; and D. Good academic performance with good or enough parental economic support.

These psychological approaches result from the interaction of a set of factors. It appears that not only educational and parental occupational factors but also cultural values, social role expectations and occupational expectations determine attitudes toward school and employment.

7.2.2. Escape from 'chaos' and the value of a job

Type B:

> Rofi (type B, case 2): Everyone in this house has their own plan. So they wake up early in the morning. It was hard (for me) to wake up in the morning. Wake up for what? I was ashamed of being noticed by neighbours, so I was hiding in my room, or taking the phone if there was any call. So preparing food was the only *holy* thing that I had to do. I thought that was fair enough.... No good for a girl going around, unless she has to. What would people say, a young girl going out for no work, not seeking a job and no schooling? I resisted, even when my brother and sister asked me to do so. *Menganggur* at home is better than doing such things. I didn't mean to blackmail anyone, but they did feel that it was unfair to let me help them (cooking) all the time. So, (finally) my dad helped me to find a job.

Type C:

> TukBc (type C, case 3), after *menggelandang*, roaring the street and finally finishing a vocational course, said:
>
> Anyhow, I have to move forward. Besides, one by one, my (educated) street mates were disappearing from the street. Otherwise, should I be a leader of the gang? I am a son of a person who has been *digelandang* [put into jail] but I don't want to be *gelandangan* [have no job].

The time of unemployment initially, right after leaving school, was seen as an extended vacation, but then it was seen as a trap. Barjo (type C, case 8) expressed the experience as 'At the beginning, it was vacation, with friends. At the end, I was trapped, alone'.

> TukBc (type C, case 3): I was 23 years old at that time and the plan to enter school had perished. Knowing that I have finished the course, my dad said one day: From now on, it's up to you. You are not a child anymore. Think about your brother and sisters. I was supposed to be an adult. But, how comes an adult without a job? .....It's free time. It's leisure time, initially. But then, as you experience too much leisure time with too little money, you can't feel any leisure time anymore. It feels like an open jail!.

Type A:

> Adi (Type A, case 1): I didn't decide to work. I found myself plunged into work, beyond my control. You know, I was a small boy when I was in Junior Secondary school, but my Dad treated me as a big boy. My Dad, a *wayang wong* artist, is rarely at home. You have to help Mum, said Dad. But, not only mum, everyone of my neighbours praised me for helping Mum. I also used to help her with bringing her load to a small market [*warungan*] nearby, before I worked with my uncle.

This shows that bringing water home for Mum is almost compulsory for a boy in the absence of his father. After he finished his schooling, a shift from bringing her things to the small market to helping his uncle to work with engines is a passage to the labour market. Apparently he perceived himself, as the son of a *warung* owner, as abnormal if he did not work after leaving school. For young people of the working class like Adi, working appears to be a matter of daily life for survival and schooling seems to be disturbing their daily life. There was no idealization of working, since there was no distance between himself and work, he just plunged into work from his childhood.

This situation differs from of Rofi (type B).

> Rofi (type B, case 2): My sister was looking for a job and getting a job as a way of looking for a good husband. After she got married, she quit her job. They got problems, their kids need clothes, milk, quarrelling sometimes. What will happen to them if their kids need fees for schooling? I think they also need separate housing. It's no good..... For me, to have a little money before and after being married is better. You know, Dad and Mum will only give me money for important things. If I have a job, I could spent my money to go to cinema and things.....whatever I like,....moreover, keeping up appearance is a must for girls, isn't it? When I was in school and course, I could tell lies to Dad and Mum to get money for clothes, cinema and.... lipsticks. After leaving school, no reasons to tell lies, besides, it's not good, is it?

When Rofi was in school, she perceived that her parents had to finance her; telling lies to dad and mum to get a small amount of money for lipstick is even

morally permitted, but then after she finished her vocational course, telling this lie was seen as 'not good'. She thinks that with a job she could obtain independence, keep up her appearance and avoid telling lies and could participate in financing the household in the future. For Rofi, a job is a means to an end. There is no intrinsic value in having a job.

Type C:

In the case of TukBc, before he took a vocational course and English course, his rebellious behaviour represented his opinion that his parents should spend money for continuing his education, but then after he finished his English course, being out of school was perceived as time to be an adult and to be an adult means to get a job. The intrinsic value of a job is adult identity.

The time after finishing their education was directly connected to the young people's future, adulthood, although there were differences in expected roles between boys and girls, resulting in the same things: a moral obligation to seek a job. This moral obligation reveals that to be a young adult without a job, especially for males, is socially unacceptable. TukBc described himself as in 'open jail': being out of school without a job was 'social homelessness'. This implies that working will give him freedom and social acceptance. For Rofi working will make her independent, self-reliant, she 'can spend her money, whatever she likes; provide shelter in separate housing for privacy and apparently also to protect her from the parents' hegemony . For TukBc and Rofi getting a job is largely seen as an instrument to escape from an undesirable condition; getting a job means *'freedom from....'*.

Type D:

This work ethos is different from that which was expressed by Sunyoto (type D, case 4). 'He [Sunyoto 's father] didn't mention a job, Pak MS, but in our vocabulary, *sarjana* and *sujana* can only have a meaning in occupation [*pangkat*]

and social status [*derajat*]. So, I searched for an appropriate job that could also fulfill my talent'. When asked about what *pangkat* and *derajat* mean, the next day, Sunyoto replied: '*ingkang semat*' [matched, dignified and rewarding]. *Semat* in Javanese language means 'matched' (adjective) or 'decoration or medal put on clothes' (noun). Getting a job for him means 'to fulfill his talent' and 'to put himself in a high social order'. Getting a job means *'freedom for'* self-fulfillment.

From these examples, the emergence of this obligation and work ethos is structured by family values, resources and climates that differ in the encouragement, pressures or chance. The decision to search for a job largely depends on the moral setting that produces eagerness to work. There are at least two results in this psychological context: first, the perception that the time for accumulating human capital through education of various kinds is finished; second, the emergence of the ethos to avoid moral threat resulting from unemployment and to achieve social identity and social expectation. This ethos can only be achieved through paid employment.

7.3. Social background, education, work ethos and resource consolidation

Schooling legitimates inequality when through schooling children realized their different abilities and different levels of merit as indicated by different educational achievements. Different educational achievement in turn results in different 'promise' regarding the occupational slots provided by that level of education. It is interesting to note, however, that when they were in school or right after leaving school, the promise of education took the form as occupational aspiration, while after school leavers realized the availability of resources in the family and the availability of job opportunities in the labour market, this aspiration changed into a more realistic form: job expectation. This job expectation also more specifically focused job search and determined which resource needed to be

consolidated[4]. Copying the education certificate, cutting their hair to improve their performance, opening ears and eyes for any information and gathering logistic help from parents or families, opening up social networks to find job opportunities, all were directed to equip them as job seekers. It was clear that different types of school leavers (A, B, C and D) from the following examples have different ways of consolidating their resources, because each has a different work ethos, perception regarding resources, and job expectation.

Type A:

> Adi (type A, case 1): You know what I could do, I got only Junior high. *No one* advertises a job for Junior high. Certificate is no use. If any, applicants with senior high or even academic education will flood the gate. So, be right in [my] self esteem, I'll take any job, as long as the job is *halal* [legal]. You know, finding a *haram* [prohibited] job was difficult, even more so the *halal* one! My dad couldn't do anything to help me.

> Beng (type A, case 5): One day I went to Dargo market. I saw, one of my friends was working loading things into trucks. If they need additional workers, the coordinator would ask *tenaga pocokan* [call worker] to help them... So I just sat there... my friend gave me a cigarette and suddenly somebody called me to load something into a truck...Penny money is easy [to get] if we are strong!... No one of my parents helped me. They were busy, besides, I am strong enough to get a job.

Parents with low occupation tended to feel released from a burden as their children left school and perceived that job search and children's future were in the hand of their children themselves. For example, Adi's father said: No parent doesn't want to see his son becoming a dignified man [*dadi wong*], but no good thing is without cost. Anyhow, I have to be relaxed, because every child brings his own luck. Another parent, Beng's father said: Parents only have two things: *sembur* [praying] and *uwur* [economic support]. I have no *uwur* anymore, because it changed into paper [school certificate], so what is left behind here is *praying'*. Several working class parents said 'they can choose any job as long as they are happy', or 'to reduce economic burden of the family' [*ngenteng-enteng butuh*].

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[4] Resource consolidation is gathering and shaping up available resources of an individual, family, friends and surrounding areas in order to support job search. Resource conversion on the other hand is changing currencies of the consolidated resources of the job seekers and their families into currencies accepted in the labour market to obtain the targeted jobs.

School leavers of type B express it differently.

Type B

> Inayah (type B, case 6): I was confused at that time, what kind of job was appropriate to me? I have no university degree, just papers; 'vocational course' like 'book keeping course' or 'hair dressing', computer, all....are in my desk, not framed and not put on the wall like my graduate brother's . I just looked through the adverts to see if any jobs need that rubbish.....I wasn't daring enough to choose, afraid of disillusion. You know, finding a job is hard. So, I just entered any gate that was opened as long as it was decent to SMA plus rubbish. I relinquished myself to luck and *my dad's friend's effort.*
> Rofi (type B, case 2): I imagined the portrait of the best secretary shown in the newspaper the other day, cos she was graduated from my 'training' center. I realized the condition had changed, many people were unemployed, but I have to try my luck. I sent tens of applications to several offices shown in the yellow pages. No answer. One day, after I had combed the advert rows for several months, I found a job offer for a secretary. Returning from his work, *my father* showed me the same thing in his newspaper. He was the busiest person in my family in combing paper and network to find any 'appropriate' job left in this city.

> Yanti (type B, case 7): I preferred some kind of jobs in book keeping. That's why after I have finished senior high I took on 'evening course' in book keeping. So, right after I had finished the course, my parents reported my progress to my grandpa, a pensioner of banking staff. I just prepared all pre-requisites: school certificates, etc. My grandpa brought all the bundles of mine to his friend in a private bank. I just left that to him!

Job seekers also experienced different 'social conditioning' resulting from the different ordinary life of their parents. Job seekers whose parents had high occupations were quite frequently encouraged by optimism when parents emphasized the appropriate and dignified jobs. Job seekers of this group could also ask their parents about a person to contact, get advice and use cars, telephones, newspapers, or typewriters in their families. Their parents also tended to have friends who were employers. In some cases, parents had opened the way to the children's future employment, even before the children finished school.

Several examples given by parents and children of type C on the other hand express a different tone:

> TukBc (type C, case 3): English and 'food and beverage' course certificate made me confident to seek a job in restaurants or night-clubs or hotels. I saw these were good places to collect money. Many times I sent applications to hotels, restaurants.... All family members open their eyes and ears, till one day *my friend* called me from a night club in another city. All certificates were already prepared a long time ago in a folder, driving license and motor cycle rego card were put inside.... My parents, buoyant with great hope, look like having a bride.

Parents of lower socio-economic background wanted to be released from the burden and disturbance of their children; on the other hand children need additional resources to achieve the desired job that is higher in status than the

parents' job. Several reasons were given by parents, such as 'they have been sent to school, they know better than me'. Barjo's father even blamed and mocked at Barjo (type C, case 8) and probably also at 'the useless school' and said to Barjo: You have 'eaten' the school corner [*mangan padon sekolahan*], so ask the school if they have any job and take it if there were any job offer.

In a less democratic tone, one parent even reminded his son Mukidi (type C, case 9), of the story of how Petruk, a peasant and servant of Arjuna in the Mahabharata epic, became a king; an ideology of Javanese ordinary people which may have been imposed by the ruling class. The message is: do not look for a job in which a peasant becomes a king. It is social disorder because you would change the park into a paddy- field! The father made this suggestion because he was also afraid of being asked by Mukidi for more funds for another course.

This uncoupled matching of resources was also obvious in TukBc's complaint: 'I have no appropriate clothes to attend the test...' Another example, is Sumardi, a university graduate the oldest son of a peasant who had migrated to the city (type C, case 10). The first problem right after leaving school in another city was whether there were any addresses of relatives in the other city. However, in spite of limited material resources, many working class job seekers were encouraged by different resources: moral support. TukBc said that his mother fasted every Monday and Thursday, an effort usually made by Javanese people who were in trouble. There seems to be a mixture of fatalism and bitterness among school leavers of type C who feel they are challenged: Show me that your education can create a job!.

Type D:

Unlike the working class parent, the father of Sunyoto (type D, case 4) mentioned parents' moral obligation:

> 'Life is sacrificing for witnessing: to see the inheritor *metu* [born], *manten* [married], *'mentas'* [take-off]. My son had finished his education, his duty. It is now my duty to

> prepare and see my son get a job, marry and if I can have a long life, witnessing his take-off. All children have to *mikul dhuwur mendhem jero:* lift parents' dignity and expectation as high as possible and bury any undignified or weak characteristic of parents as deep as possible.

Middle-class parents also emphasize the 'appropriateness of the job'; 'first job is too important to be chosen by my green kids'; 'my future also depends on his future' and 'a job is not merely making money'. Kusumo's father, similar to Sunyoto's father, expected Kusumo (type D, case 11) to be *trahing kusumo rembesing madu* [the inheritor of flowers and the drops of honey of the aristocrats]. Family honor was at stake in children's future employment. Kusumo said:

> How can I choose any job? From the cradle, when I was a baby, my Mum was always singing a song. The song for every child in my family. Do you know the song, *pak MS*? [He sang] Oh boy, my son. I hope someday you come to the age [of working]. But what I expect is [You are] Serving the King. [*Duh kulup, putra ningsun. Sirehku wus wanci. Nanging to, sedya Ningwang. Suwito Ning narpati,* Javanese].

Kusumo also has different socialization and social consolidation track since his parents have different levels of social resource. In *nyadran* time, once a year, a week before fasting month begins, all the members of his *trah* [noble clan] from all over Java celebrate their gathering with *nyekar:* throwing flowers on their ancestor's grave. At this time, individual problems, such as seeking a job, are passed to the clan to be shared.

When parents or siblings have high occupations, job seekers of high occupational background, like Sunyoto (type D, case 4), have better information about how recruitment in the labour market. Not only are parents' cultural supports, but also, as Kusumo explained, employed adults around them can give them advice or lessons about how to search for jobs efficiently and effectively. Children of parents with low occupations, on the other hand, were likely to be exposed to a discouraging atmosphere when parents worried about whether there are any jobs for my children, apparently because in low socio-economic strata parents themselves experience this problem in their ordinary life. Most of their parents' friends were employees or even unemployed, so job seekers with parents in low occupation have limited social resources to cultivate. Probably it is not merely a coincidence

that different types of school leavers –as mentioned earlier–relied on different persons: TukBc (type C) got job information from his friend, Inayah (type B, case 6) relied on luck and her father's promise, and Adi (type A, case 1) relied on himself.

Perceptions of the expected job among working-class children with little education appear to result from their *reactions* toward their limited resources. This results in a subsistence work ethos; since the question is whether or not a job is available, the choice then is a matter of illegal or legal rather than low or high and is then expressed in the consolidation of a very limited resource: bodily capital or strength. On the other hand, educated job seekers with parents in high occupation express their *hopes* about the 'appropriateness' and 'glory' of a job [*derajat*], in which they could inherit their parents' privilege and social dignity [*semat*].

The perception of the expected job among those who lack education but have middle-class parents (type B) seems to be less clear: 'appropriate job' has to be defined to match two uncoupled resources: the dignity of their social origin and the inadequacy of their education. Although educational qualification was considered, the involvement of parents was becoming more essential to define and obtain a 'dignified' job.

Educated job seekers with parents in low occupation (type C) also expressed contradiction: on the one hand, they were given little hope by their parents and on the other hand they faced the 'promise' given by both their educational qualifications and the entry criteria set by the labour market. They wanted to escape from their class, and saw themselves being challenged: 'Ask the school if any job is available for you!'. The job needs to be defined, it was open: as a challenge to prove themselves qualified. They were inclined to rely greatly on the 'fairness' of the recruitment in the market and on their educational qualifications, so they consolidated their educational resources.

The labour market in the area apparently taught job seekers that in most low occupations, education was simply irrelevant. So they brought only their bodies and their simple tools directly to the potential employers. The difference in the potential resources in their families, especially access to potential employers, also influenced the way job seekers applied for jobs. Those who had no access to potential employers sent applications *randomly* and certificates were emphasized as the educational currency. Job seekers with no person to follow up their applications rely on nothing except luck ('to try my luck'), while job seekers who have such a person rely on somebody: ' I just left this to him', Yanti (type B, case 7).

These cases show there are different job expectations and work ethos resulting from a set of factors, such as parental background, education and employment opportunities available in the labour market.

There was self-selection on the supply side, which resulted in segmentation of job seekers. Their self-selection is also a strategy to match their resources to the practice of social reproduction in the society. As an instrument of social reproduction, the recruitment practice acts as a sorting device, which determines which of the resources in the household, is acceptable as social currency and to legitimize inequality between those who have and who have not those social currencies.

7.4. Searching for a job for the first time and conversion of resource to that end

Although family resources and educational resources seem to result in the dichotomy of job seekers between those with more and those with less potential, conflicts between children and parents in choosing and method of job search were possible. Two factors can create conflict: moral change when job seekers try to be self reliant or are expected to be more independent; and different perceptions between job seekers and their parents regarding the appropriate job, methods to obtain it and the amount of resources to be allocated to find it.

Nevertheless, the search for a job for the first time tended to involve less conflict, because, first, in the hope for independence, most job seekers emphasized the conversion of their own resources: education capital or body capital. Second, help from parents seems to have been sought gradually in accordance with the magnitude of the challenge faced by job seekers that were following the sequence of steps into the labour market. Third, parents, on the other hand, let their children have a 'try', besides, most parents were not really sure how and where to find a job for their children, as exemplified by parents of type B, such as a rich trader, the father of Inayah (type B, case 6). Although he was worried about Inayah's inadequate education, he still let her try her own way.

I know that my daughter does nor have enough endurance to hunt for a job, and if she could, I am sure she wouldn't be morally tough enough to do a job as a worker. I want her to be an entrepreneur, so letting her try her own way was a good lesson. Two years probably was enough to give her a lesson, I hoped she would be careful enough to take over a new kiosk later.

Fourth, presents were apparently optimistic, so resources were converted in limited number and in a gradual way, since several good jobs in the labour market can also be achieved in this gradual way. With this gradual conversion of resources, the organization of work and the structure of resources in the family will not be disturbed, besides, the job seekers' desire to be independent is also conserved. So the gradual way of resource conversion was a result of the principle of efficiency, effectiveness and independence.

However, if job seekers faced failures after they converted a particular and less expensive resource, they tended to mobilize and exploit another resource, including moral or psychological resources that could result in conflict. Exploring the stages of resources conversion therefore is important to see the dynamics of the job search process.

The effort to be independent was indicated in their reasons why they did not ask any other help from their family members or friends in the first job search. This was implied in several answers such as 'try first, ask for help latter, if it fails'

(Inayah), 'I don't want to disturb anybody' (Sumardi), 'I know what I have to do, Dad knows little about this thing' (TukBc) 'my Dad is not department of employment' (Redha, type B, case 13) 'many job seekers could get jobs at the first attempt'(Ryatun, type C, case 14), 'getting a job by our own hand is a *personal* satisfaction', 'I don't want to be in debt because of other people's help' (Barjo, type C, case 8).

That is why in the first job search most job seekers also applied for jobs in their hometown, especially the females. Several reasons, such as ' job available in the home town', 'no accommodation available in other cities', 'don't want to be a burden on other people', and 'want to take care of parents' are common. Although the answer varies, the most important thing is that new job seekers apparently were optimistic and wanted to try to convert their own resources efficiently by their own hands.

There were at least two means of getting a job that relied more on personal capital, with less dependence on parental involvement: first, responding to open or public advertisement or responding to impersonal networks and job-assigning authorities; and second, responding to job information that was passed on or offered by a limited individual network.

7.4.1 Public advertisement and selection on the demand-side: a contest of mobility?

The majority of educated job seekers, those with senior secondary education and above, applied for publicly advertised jobs, since the information was spread widely, emphasized educational qualification, and demanded fewer economic resources. So the jobs that was advertised was challenging job seekers' capability in the hoped-for independence and was seen as dignified through its 'clean recruitment' and promise of a long-term career. Job seekers with higher educational qualifications relative to the limited economic support of their parents

(type C, Sumardi and Ryatun) rely much on this channel, because they see it as accessible despite their limited resources.

Job seekers with parents in high occupations, like Sunyoto (type D, case 4), acknowledged a different recruitment mechanism and took the easiest way of the 'non-newspapers' channel. Sunyoto said modestly: I am not qualified enough to get through an open screening test. With his father's advice, he took the 'non-newspapers' channel successfully.

Through public advertisement channels, however, very rarely were job seekers accepted merely because of their educational qualifications. The criteria of the second screening, according to the former manpower head-division at the provincial level (X.S), demanded several individual characteristics. The criteria appeared to be class and politically biased and less relevant to meritocratic values. This screening used interviews to reveal *kesemaptaan'* [balanced and harmonic body[5]], ideological affiliation [*bersih diri*] and parental and sibling political background [*bersih lingkungan*]. The last two criteria, called *Litsus* were defined by the national security agency to screen out potential troublemakers or those with inappropriate political background.

Although the screening was biased, job seekers who succeeded in that screening regarded themselves as *lulus murni* , 'passed purely'. This is a success in which job seekers find themselves *'dignified, efficient and independent'* in finding a job. That is why many applicants who failed return to this kind of channel, like Ryatun (type C, case 14, an IKIP graduate, the daughter of a meat trader, after she engaged in a temporary job, and Ririn (type D, case 12) after she obtained another certificate.

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[5] Bodily capital as an entry criterion tended to advantage job seekers from high social background, because, bodily capital is distributed in a non-random pattern: according to Bourdieu: The body, a social product which is the only tangible manifestation of the person. ...It is no accident that bodily

However, after they had repeatedly failed to achieve employment and realized the game behind the screening test, as explained below, this promise was regarded by job seekers as a *'broken promise'*, because to some extent the recruitment was unclean and biased. This channel was then seen as sponsoring job seekers who had a relationship with the employers. Some of them realized this beforehand and simply tried their luck.

7.4.2. Public advertisement for short-term career

Searching for jobs through such advertisements was seen as 'independent' because it did not involve parents' or family's connections, but less dignified and less efficient because sometimes it involved money and provided less chance for career advancement.

Besides educational qualifications and vocational training certificates, especially in the private sector, economic capital as well as bodily capital were frequently declared as prerequisites in this type of advertisement. 'applicants must be female, at least senior secondary graduates-academy or university graduates preferred, with 'computer course certificate', prioritized for 'pretty face' or 'male, at least senior secondary graduates, own motorcycle ' (for marketing) (*Suara Merdeka*, 13 June 1996).

Nevertheless, motivations were quite different. Ryatun (type C) and Sumardi (type C) regarded the job offered as a way of accumulating new human and money capital. If they could pass the test, working experience and income that would be obtained could give them new 'power' for another job hunt. On the other hand, Rofi (type B) and Inayah (type B) regarded the advertised job as a decent goal rather than a means to achieve another goal.

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properties are perceived through social system of classification which are not independent of the distribution of these properties among the social classes (1986:93).

Many of those who lack educational qualification but with high parental socio economic background (type B) end up in an advertised job in low-level of occupations that give them a modicum of pride through the modern image given by the companies, such as in travel bureaus, hotels, marketing staff for pharmaceutical and beauty products or simply in supermarkets or malls. The modern image of the job usually was also reflected in the name of the job divisions and job descriptions being given in English. Apparently, a job with modern image was chosen as an 'image maintenance strategy' as a way to prevent 'down-classing'. As Inayah said, she chose the job because although the income is rural, the style is urban.

Some job seekers with uncoupled match between their education and social origin (Type B and C), such as Inayah (type B), Yanti (type B) and Ryatun (type C) felt themselves to just follow any wave of job information and chance, rather than to choose, simply because they were not really sure about what kind of job was matched to both their education and social origin. This mixed orientation apparently was more confusing for females as their appropriate marriage age was approaching. On the other hand, for Sumardi (type C) the orientation was more clearer:

My dad has bought a VIP train ticket for me [university degree], I missed the previous train, it is not wise if I just enter the economy train. I am not in a hurry [because he is male? -MS]. I have to wait for the next VIP train. (Sumardi took a teaching job for one year in a private school following this kind of advertisement, then left).

7.4.3. Response to job information spread through limited individual networks.

In a high-unemployment situation, valuable job information tends to be spread to job seekers through their strongest social ties. So the jobs that were offered through this kind of network vary, both high and low occupations, but job seekers who have low educational qualifications and with parents in low occupation (type A), especially females, seem to rely much on this channel. Apparently,

young females are less mobile than males, primarily for cultural reasons, so they are trapped in a limited circle.

Besides this reason, searching for a job through this network, rather than through public advertisement, was undertaken, according to some respondents (Redha and Inayah, type B), because they were afraid of tight competition and being repeatedly publicly rejected as declared on the notice board; because, as Redha (type B) said: 'It is silly, to apply is to be naked'. This kind of self-selection is a way of maintaining the person's self-image, which could be destroyed by open rejection.

The chance to obtain job information through this network right after leaving school depended largely on the extension of a school-boy network outside the school, the length of residence and the 'prestige' of the school.

School leavers or drop-outs from elite schools such as Catholic schools where many of the pupils have parents of high economic standing have more chance since their ex-class mates are usually also children of employers. Friendship or trust at school was strengthened through work relations. Adi (type A), who was financed by the church for his schooling, is one example. His ex-class mate was the son of a mayor who opened a motor cycle repair plant and recruited Adi.

There was also considerable difference between job seekers according to whether their parents have long or short residential period in the study area. The first, for example Aan, had a lot of job information from individual networks, compared with the second, Redha, a Buginese migrant. Another remarkable difference was among those who came from the Chinese and Arab ethnic groups. Regardless of socio-economic background and levels of education, they seem to search for and receive job information from this network, especially in a limited ethnic circle, where most Chinese and Arab adults were employers. Some respondents of the Chinese ethnic group mentioned that they got the job primarily

through private or individual networks and the rest of the vacant jobs, if any, then spread to the public. The job opportunities for the Chinese ethnic group, according to Yanti, (type B), were also extended to the indigenous neighboring home and 'peer group', especially ex-classmates.

Those who came from a middle-class background such as Inayah (type B), not only faced discouragement from parents because the jobs were sèen by their parents as 'inappropriate', 'the style is urban, but the income is rural', but also faced difficulties in adapting to the 'hardship' resulting from the job. They readily left the job because they simply decided to 'give it a try'. On the other hand, those who came from low socio-economic background (type A, Aan and Adi) inclined to accept these jobs, most of them saying that they were familiar with hardship, 'the job was not too low compared with their dad's job', 'the income was enough', or 'many of my friends ended up in these kind of jobs'.

In getting a job in independent and dignified way, those with uncoupled matching characteristics (types B and C), had difficulties, since work practice demanded characteristics that were beyond their reach.

In summary, searching for a job for the first time is marked by the independence and efficiency principles. People with different types, volume and configuration of resources have different proximity to a particular type of job information. They also respond to job information that is appropriate to their resources. Self-censorship and segmentation through specific job information relevant to their segments indicate that different amounts and types of resource gave different social space and structured their search behaviour. They did not behave in a random way and moved along their own social boundaries. Many job seekers did not move far enough, converted insufficient resources and kept themselves away from lower employment in order to preserve their dignity and independence.

7.5. Reaction and response to unemployment

Several patterns or stages of reaction and response that were commonly experienced in all families. These were sharing the 'misery of being rejected', finding scapegoats, reviewing and changing the tactics and if necessary reviewing the initial goals and strategy, restructuring the allocation of resources in the family as a consequence of the changing strategy.

Response to unemployment reveals different normative orientations in regard to the job as a source of meaning, and provides different potential areas of conflict between parents and job seekers with different characteristics, because unemployment strikes different households in different ways. It also demands different solutions: different resource conversion.

7.5.1.Sharing the misery and isolation

7.5.1.1. Social isolation.

Social class of origin differentiates the way people experience unemployment: working class children tend to be less distressed than those of the middle class. Different social isolation and social deprivation differentiate their attitude towards unemployment.

There were quite different experiences in regard to the available time and place between job seekers with different socio-economic backgrounds. Different structure of space resulted from different economic conditions: real estate with high walls compared with slums with no fence is one of the examples.

Unlike the time when job seekers were in school and applying for a job, when the time and place were organized and structured, being unemployed because of rejection resulted in unstructured and unorganized time. For Rofi (type B, middle-class background), 'Everyone in this house has their own plan. So they

woke up early in the morning. [For me] It was hard to wake up in the morning. Wake up for what?'.

Being unemployed means being alienated from 'social time' because when other members of the family are going to their workplace, Rofi has a different time-tunnel. She also found 'strange' space:

> All my neighbours of my age, my family, were *going* to some places with a certain route. With the same bus, I felt that I was *'hanging'* and going nowhere. When night comes, for them, it is the time for no one: they need to sleep. For me, it is the time to talk to some one'.

Unlike Rofi, Beng (type A, case 5), like most job seekers of low parental background, lived in crowded housing and had siblings or friends in surrounding areas who were also unemployed or part-timers. Being unemployed was regarded as participation in the 'youth' majority of their own socio-economic class. 'I am not alone, before I left school, I got money from 'policing in the street' with friends [acted as 'informal street police']. Now I am doing the same thing. The only difference is I already have useless paper'. Beng can easily list many of his friends of the same RT (block) who have similar experience. For the girls in this working-class group, like Aan (type A, case 15), since their families have no servants, they can help their mothers, such as by opening an 'instant street coffee shop' at night. Parents give them money for their substantial participation in the household organization. From their activities, it is clear that since their adolescence, working-class children have had no real separation between work, schooling and playing. Semi-unemployed youth from low socio-economic background seem to have few barriers to engaging in the informal economy and informal social organization or community. This kind of community was more apparent in the working class enclave close to *Pasar D.*

On the other hand, unemployed young people with high parental occupational background (types B and D, mostly in *J.G* block) tended to be isolated. Most of their adult family members were working during the day. Many

of them were unfamiliar with the street culture, because they had been kept away from it since they were in school. Inside their houses, there was no household work that could give them adult identity –'income' – from their parents in a justified and decent way. Compared with the less educated, their informal economic and community activities were very limited, so they were socially and economically unmatched with the people around them. This may cause 'social homelessness' among them and result in a harder effort to escape from unemployment.

For those who were born in the working class but have obtained high educational qualifications, like Ryatun and TukBc (type C) however, the tension between new aspirations resulting from school and temptation of their milieu resulted in a more confusing situation. Their fathers were emphasizing a similar attitude: to socialize but not be mixed-up with them [*awor ning ora kawor*, Javanese]. Their working-class young friends regarded them as 'children of the school', or 'children of the tower' since when working-class children were playing outside, they just kept studying. Leaving school means the school community has ended. The post-school community was then becoming important but not available.

Nevertheless, unlike Beng (type A) who could adapt himself to the informal economy, educated job seekers from a working-class background (type C), have difficulties in adopting the informal economy. In the case of Sumardi, his education might even change his world-view:

> Sumardi (type C, case 10): We are an unfortunate generation. My Dad, and probably also Pak MS's parents, right after they came to the appropriate age, our grandpa prepared them to *omah-omah* [in Javanese to marry, 'omah-omah', means building a house]. They just cut trees and build a new house nearby, and they could help their parents in a paddy field or in the market. Wife or husband came first, the job came later, and housing was prepared by parents. Now, all had changed, upside-down. They will never give us a house, they give us education. That's it. Job has to come first. Without a job, all has to be delayed. If our fiancee ask us to marry her, we always say 'if a job had come, if a job had come, delay all the time. We are *joko semoyo* [bachelor of delay]'.

The life-cycle orientation of the older generation was reversed. Unemployment terminated adulthood identity, and males turned the life cycle of the older generation upside-down.

TukBc (type C, case 3): It is easy to say 'don't *kumpul kebo* [cohabit]. Our parents married early, they have no time to *kumpul kebo*. For males, without a job, we have no guts to marry, our fiancées are afraid of withering, asked us to marry. So, *kumpul kebo* is the middleway.

Facing difficulties in finding a job, girls apparently could find adult identity through marriage, but for most males in this area, without having a job, whatever the job is, they are unlikely to find adult identity. Delayed marriage, youth gangs, cohabitation, rebellious behaviour and other forms of youth unemployment culture are parts of the response to unemployment. Nevertheless, these responses may only become a pseudo masculine identity that can give them a temporary haven for their masculinity from the threat of long-term unemployment.

7.5.1.2 Social deprivation

Social deprivation, rather than work ethos as argued by some authors (Ashton and Field, 1978; Willis, 1977) is among the reasons why middle-class children were more stressed than working class children.

One respondent, Ririn (type D), said: 'I am ashamed of myself, if I become the only one who is *magel* [half-cooked sweet potato]'. She said that although people put sweet potatoes under the ash of a wood fire, quite frequently one or two of them were only half-cooked. Another respondent, Sumardi (type C), said that each job seeker came from a different bunch, and each of them like a coconut had to be compared to their own bunch, in Sumardi's case the sons of his uncle, a village head): whether as unemployed he will be 'the only defective or deviant coconut among a bunch of coconuts'. A bunch of coconuts symbolizes siblings, peer group or friends of the same class.

Job seekers from lower parental socio-economic background have low relative deprivation, because the difference between having no job (himself) and having a job in a low occupation (his siblings) was seen to be slight, therefore, job seekers from lower social class of origin appear to be less stressed. On the other hand, without a job, job seekers with parents of high socio-economic background have high relative deprivation compared to their siblings or youth of their class

counterparts who already have a –usually– high occupation. Therefore the value of the appropriate job itself is becoming more important. So job seekers from different class backgrounds have different 'social distance' in the hope of getting appropriate jobs and may differ in their strength of motivation to get a 'decent' job.

According to the above explanation, gender, education and class of origin are important in the way young people experience unemployment. Job seekers with high educational qualification, from high social class of origin, especially males, find themselves socially unmatched and have difficulty in adapting themselves to unemployment. Job seekers with this kind of resource configuration have no social reason to live in unemployment.

7.5.2 Filling the time-gap or doing the job.

The interaction between job expectation and the rhythm or tempo of job search on the one hand, and the availability of activities in the household, informal economy and community activities on the other hand, determine the activity to fill the time gap.

The tempo or rhythm of different job search methods provides different time spans and duration of unemployment. For example, to apply to some firms and offices and to respond to public advertisements, educated people tended to know the time and the place to go. On the other hand, less educated people, who were mostly using personal or social networks, have difficulty in identifying the potential network to contact or the place to go. It is hard for them to plan the job search through personal or social networks. Since finding job information through hanging around one friend or relative was not very effective, many found it difficult to distinguish between 'hanging around' and 'looking for a job'. When differentiation ends, the current *status quo* forms the identity. Helping her mother in a small shop was initially regarded by Inayah (type B, case 6), a graduate of senior high school, as filling in time, but then after several rejections, she was not

really sure about where to search for a job, and her activity gradually became regarded as her job.

A cut-off between inactively seeking a job and actively seeking a job was apparently easier to identify among job seekers with high education than with low education. So, there was more chance to plan activities to fill the time gap among educated job seekers. This means that reduction of the length of unemployment was more probable among the educated job seekers.

In this respect, the availability of 'valuable' activities in their milieu –out-door non-income-generating activities– provides a chance for job seekers to identify the time gap or have a particular plan to fill it. Job seekers with parents having their own firms or parents who are self employed in trade or home industries have the option to become involved in their parents' economic activities (Inayah (type B), while job seekers whose parents are wage laborers (Ryatun, type C) or public servants (Kusumo, type D), have less chance to participate in their parents' jobs. The chance to plan activities to fill the time was taken mostly by children of middle-class background largely for accumulating human capital.

In short, the differences in the concept of the job, the rhythm or tempo provided by job search methods and the availability of resources and 'decent' activities in the household and community to fill the time were important factors explaining the adaptability toward unemployment and the chance to accumulate human capital among job seekers with different education, sex and parental occupation.

7.5.3 Finding scapegoats and struggle for resources

The third aspect of responding to the rejection of young people's job applications was finding scapegoats and struggle for resources. Unemployment provides time to think about what has gone wrong. At least three parties, job seekers themselves, parents and the recruitment, are usually singled out for blame.

Although blaming the recruitment procedure is possible, job seekers and parents have limited option to change the recruitment procedure.

In the situation where educational qualification is widely accepted as the most powerful currency to buy a ticket for employment, lack of education usually is then interpreted as inability to do the job which force job seekers to accept any job offer. Job seekers with low parental socio-economic background have little opportunity to blame their parents, since most parents with low socio-economic status tend to turn over the search effort almost totally to their children. The father of Sumardi (type C) even mocked at the inability of the family and at the son who preferred and failed to achieve a high occupation as 'heavy roof, lack of pillars' Nevertheless, like Sumardi, those with high educational qualification have little reason to blame themselves and so blame people or procedures behind the recruitment, or the broken promise of the educational institution. Failed applicants who had high educational qualification but whose parents have limited socio-economic resources (type C), feel bitter about the big sacrifice made by their parents for their schooling and faced 'the broken promise' of education and the recruitment procedure; this made them 'radical'. Nevertheless, they also implied a struggle over resources in the family. Ryatun (type C, case 14) for example said:

> Teachers always pushed us to get high marks, Dad said 'be a good student to get a good job', but no interviewer asked me my mark .... I am the only child in my family who got a university degree. Getting a university degree is *not my 'right'*. With no job I feel myself 'guilty'. My dad asked me to marry someone. Sometimes I feel this is the way to reduce my guilty feeling.....

Sumardi (type C) saw that he had no choice except exploiting his own ability, while Ryatun (type C) saw obeying her father as a possible solution. Struggle for resources experienced by educated job seekers with parents of the working class, who had younger siblings seeking jobs like TukBc (type C), seems to be more severe and resulted in a more shameful defeat.

In general, nevertheless, educated job seekers with lack of economic support tended to conclude that 'struggle over resources' in their house has finished

since the resource has gone and they have to exploit their own resource, education that is embodied in themselves and look for possible resources outside their house.

On the other hand, job seekers with parents in high occupations can argue with parents, particularly regarding the inadequacy of financial support or the inadequacy of their qualifications to obtain a job that is usually selected by their parents, as is frequently experienced by the job seekers with high occupation. Yanti (type B, case 7) said:

> My Dad and my granddad asked me to apply for a job in banking, how come....my qualification is only SMA. I told them beforehand, I preferred another job. I said to them: 'It is now *my right* to ask where is my banking job. They were then busy to obtain it'.

Blaming other parties, especially persons at home partly reflects a struggle for resources, especially intergenerational struggle for resources. Less educated job seekers whose parents have high socio-economic background see that the rest of the 'potential resources' lie in their families: the struggle over resources has just begun, the job seekers rely much on parents: parents' psychological resource may become a resource that has to be exploited.

7.5.4. Internalization of value, reviewing and changing the tactics

Blaming and arguments create the same lesson: getting a job is not only a matter of who you are, but more importantly who you know, who knows you and what you give. The perception regarding the frequent use of connections, job bribery and job purchasing sometimes results in a moral value, that it is common practice, so, 'if we don't do this, we miss the train....'. A reality was transformed into a value, the cause of failure was transformed into the rationale to overcome the failure. At this stage, job seekers transform their initial way of thinking in accordance with practical value that could transform their resources into marketable 'currency'. This stage is different from the first stage of job search when job seekers cultivate their own values and resources; after rejection, job seekers adopt the values of the external world and accept inequality that is

determined by the hidden recruitment criteria as the instrument of social reproduction in the society.

Like wars, the hidden recruitment criteria teaches parents and children several tricks, pushes them to perform the tricks and prepare the legitimization. In an interview, a father who considered bribery after his daughter (Chi-chi, type D, case 18) failed in several screening tests, referred to a song written by Ronggowarsito one century ago, 'This time is a crazy time, if we won't be crazy we will be left behind [*jamane jaman edan, nek ora edan ora keduman,* Javanese].

The internalization of values is manifested by accommodation or modification and rejection of parts of the former search attitude and behaviour. The number of methods, resources and length of time that have been devoted to job search, and the perception regarding the remaining stock of resources and methods or channels to convert them, contribute to the decision whether or not the job seekers have to change the goal, strategy and tactics. Some forms of modification are stepping up human capital with further training, lowering the goal to a more realistic job aspiration, considering possible ways of connection, bribery and job purchasing, and accepting a particular temporary job as a stepping stone to the desired job.

The extreme or radical rejection is rejecting the existence of the goal which led them to quit the search, through getting married for example, or rejection of community values which leads them to underground economic activities.

Entering the underground economy usually implies *verbal rejection* of job seekers' own resources. An example is Sumi (type A, case 16) with senior economic school education. She was a prostitute:

> Don't mention my education, my dad, my ancestors and my religion. Do not mention my name. You know Pak MS, every prostitute changes her name! She is Donnata, I am Hanne [honey? MS], we are snack and sweet drink....ha ha!'.

Similar to Sumi is Kentrung (type C, case 17), whose father was involved in the failed Communist *coup d'etat*—different from normal resource conversion,

he hid his social 'capital' and his individual capital as a normal man, by pretending to be a 'crazy man' and uses his 'soap-box guitar' as a way to get money.

In summary, based on the way they share the misery and isolation, the work ethos and relative deprivation, the chance to fill the time gap, the availability of the scapegoats that can be exploited and the possibility of reviewing their tactics, job seekers have different chances of getting the desired job through restructuring their resources. Those with low educational qualifications but with parents have better resources can more easily restructure their resource configuration but result in more dependence among them.

7.6. Restructuring the allocation of resources.

The clearest result of the ineffectiveness of independent efforts carried out by job seekers is the increase in their dependence on re-allocation of non-human resource. Parents of high occupational status convince their children about the existing goals and try to restructure the resource allocation and convert other resources to achieve the goal. The father of Chichi's (type D, case 18):

> I was wondering why so many children of villagers were accepted. After I observed the situation, I then understood: their uncle or someone in a higher position took part. O, that's the way they go. No wonder my daughter was repeatedly defeated, competing with old boys! Now it is my turn [to be job seeker, MS]'.

Restructuring their resource configuration can affect the use of the resources within the family. For example, job seekers are repositioning themselves, such as 'helping mother or tidying up things at home', while their parents or older siblings come up to the 'the front-line' of job search. They appear to 'scale down' the job seeker's effort. On the contrary, although they may say that they are not searching for jobs, since they are taking vocational courses, for example, they and their families are desperately searching for a job through converting the last resource! Fathers in high occupations tended to use network for getting more direct path to obtain 'female jobs' like Yanti (type B), or like Inayah (type B) whose parents created jobs or small business for them.

On the other hand, children of working class parents tended to face their own problems. Like the father of Sumardi (type C), parents without economic support preach to their children that 'education is a qualification but it is not a guarantee to find a job'. Parents lacking economic resources encourage their children to replace the initial goals.

Educated daughters of parents of low socio-economic background were among those who found it difficult to match the aspirations and the preaching of their parents, since they tend to stick with limited 'female occupations'. Ryatun (type C) said: 'My Dad is a coolie at the port. He can't give me any connection which will help me'.

Sumardi (type C, case 10), who was born to a farmer with six children, for example, said that to find a job through connection or job brokerage with limited economic resources is like being a man trapped in the mud; any wrong movement [if the broker or connector was a scoundrel] will sink him in deeper mud[6].

With high education qualification such as Senior High School or academy, boys of this group can change their initial goals. Informal sector activities are among the options. Nevertheless, apart from requiring money, which is in short supply among parents of the working class, the informal sector is also fiercely competitive[7].

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[6] With limited socio-economic support, the promise of work experience attracted them and resulted in goal replacement. Sumardi's parents discourage his dream. His father told the legend 'Damarwulan ngarit'. To become a king, Damarwulan had to cut grass (for the king's horses). This eroded the son's job aspirations. Another parent, according to his son (TukBc, type C, case 3), gave as an example of *'takdir'* (predetermination by God) the cigarette maker, Nitisemito, who became a billionaire in the early part of the century in Java by selling his hand-made cigarette.

[7] One of the best examples is the case of Kentrung (type C, case 17). When he tried to be 'informal street police by helping motorists to escape from traffic-jambs', a gang of youth of a particular ethnic background who dominate this sector caught and beat him. He had to pay an unaffordable 'tax' to the gang. He then turned himself into a street musician [*pengamen*] as mentioned above. He faced several gangs of another ethnic group who hold several zones, with a similar tax system. The competition in this sector was getting worse since many areas –mostly middle-class housing– were guarded by security men or declared on the notice board to be *pengamen* free zone. Kentrung then transformed himself into a 'crazy man' in order to enter these zones and make the security men and other street musicians more tolerant. In this abandoned and undignified sector, the competition and barriers are

Scaling down the rhythm of job search among working class children frequently reflects their powerlessness and loss of orientation rather than adaptation to a new strategy. There are clear differences: those with high socio-economic background can plan, while those with low socio-economic background can only dream.

In this process, the principle of efficiency tends to be replaced by the principal of effectiveness. Parents with high occupation become involved in the job search and activate social capital, for example by building connections and intensifying the use of money capital. As a result, children with parents of high occupational status relinquish the search at leave it to the parents.

One result of these different attitudes is that job seekers from lower parental occupational background, having found a particular job, can also easily change the job if they want to. Because of their limited aspirations, they also easily obtain a 'boost', if they succeed in obtaining a job. A belief that they can not return to their parents, direct contact with the challenges they faced and independence among these job seekers may explain why children from poor families could achieve high occupations in the future. On the other hand, job seekers from high occupational backgrounds, such as Inayah and Yanti, if they are helped by parents in finding a job, are less likely to leave it, even if it is undesirable because they want to show appreciation for their parent's efforts and the material and social cost. Alienation from jobs is therefore probable among the less educated children of the middle class.

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tight, and the 'free entry' characteristic of the informal sectors that is sometimes assumed, is disappearing or probably never existed.

7.7. The emphasis and use of non-educational capital

In the study area, unlike the first stage of job search when job seekers largely emphasized their micro cosmos (individual and parents' capital), the later stage of job search was marked by greater internalization of the practiced rules of social reproduction of the society (macro-cosmos). This section explores the use of connections and brokerage for finding a job among job seekers with different parental backgrounds, education and gender groups.

Those with limited resources in their family tend to search for resources outside their families. Those who can not get adequate resources either inside or outside their family see a lower-status job a resource that can be converted to search for the desired job: the acceptance of a temporary lower-status job is a subsistence strategy. This issue is explored in the next section (section 7.7).

The use of connections and brokerage relies greatly on *the availability and appropriateness* of social networks as pathways for converting the capital into a job. Job seekers may have a social network that is not matched (appropriate) to their purpose. For example, Sumi (type A, case 16) has a father, a well digger, who could not help her to find a secretarial job. The targeted job may be out of reach of the network of the job seekers' family members or relatives. Therefore maximizing the reach is important: to widen the social network in order to reach a person who has authority over the targeted job, through brokers or connectors. Kinship network, 'old boys network' and other primordial sentiments are resources that can be exploited and converted into connectors. Connection and brokerage are rampant, as is clear in the field, for a number of reasons [Appendix 7.2].

Children from middle and high class background have a better chance because of the availability of access to power through social networks[8]. The

[8] In Javanese culture in particular, as it was experienced by Sunyoto (type D, case 4) and Kusumo (type D, case 11) the emergence of the *trah* (noble clan) clearly provides a connection for the middle

working class are plunged into a daily struggle for life. Only when searching for a job becomes a problem, does the need for social networks emerge. The only organization that can relate the working-class children to the potential employers is the *perkumpulan daerah,* , especially among migrants, and religious organizations or schools which are very much local in nature. Through Christian or high prestige schools, especially through out-of-school activities or alumni reunion, working class children can contact potential employers, mostly Chinese entrepreneurs and their children. Besides those networks, as became clear in the field, patron-client relationships in Javanese society also provide a track for working-class children to enter a higher occupation.

7.7.1 Neo-feudalism, connection and social reproduction.

In public sectors, the most transparent practices of neo-feudalism are *politik jatah,* quota policy, and the creation of *bisnis anak pejabat,* business of bureaucrats' children by the bureaucrats to directly or indirectly employ their children outside the bureaucracy. These practices reproduce social class and maintain domination. One of high-ranking officials, XS, said:

> *Politik jatah* (the quota policy) is temporary and unofficial policy, as a means to curb excessive connection and political cliques that endanger the bureaucracy. You know (the situation) before the quota policy was applied? Everybody tried to sneak their political supporters into the bureaucracy through connection. Bureaucracy is becoming a battle ground for struggle for power and money: lifting the number of their political supporters and their bribery inside the bureaucracy. The new recruit also tried to attract as many new followers as possible. You can imagine the effect, Pak MS. The day-to-day bureaucratic duty is simply forgotten..... The quota is given to very limited top officials, (the policy is) to minimize connection,... to maximize the responsibility (of the quota incumbent) on the quality of the new recruit. It is simply to put the snake on the table– transparent for all officials to see.

However, this quota policy unofficially institutionalizes the use of connections and is becoming a privilege of the elite. Questions regarding new recruits, such as 'whose man is he?' (*orangnya siapa dia?*) or 'who have

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class, especially the aristocrats. In the political sphere, the political economy of *kemitraan* (partnership initiative) with a three-way link between government, Chinese entrepreneurs, and indigenous entrepreneurs, also provides a track for children of the middle class.
Among ethnic minorities, especially the Chinese and Arabs, according to respondents (two Chinese in banking and one Arab in the trade sector), letting somebody from their ethnic group remain without a

sponsored him?' *(Siapa sponsornya?),* are very easily referred to the limited number of officials[9]. Therefore, 'sponsored mobility' was also provided by the employers, especially the elite.

Job seekers with educational qualifications below Senior Secondary are totally excluded from using this privilege, because this is the lowest prerequisite for making an application. In Xs's office, most applicants who use connections are females. Compared to males, females badly need connections, probably because besides being more isolated, they have a narrower range of job aspirations, focusing mostly on 'female occupations'. As their aspirations are more specific, networks or connections that can relate them to a specific job are rarely available. However, as mentioned by XS who has a 'quota' to recruit employees, he avoided females.

> Filling the quota with girls, [my career] will be in danger .. regular absenteeism and quitting or moving to other places to accompany their husbands... planning on placement failed. I know some females in this office are also recruited, but they are *titipan* (recruited through high-level connection). No guts to refuse *titipan.*

Apparently, since many officials have no guts to refuse ***titipan***, parents of job seekers' parents like the father of Chi-chi (type D, case 18) were trying to obtain powerful letter from high officials.

Quota policy as an institutionalized practice of neo-feudalism was also a way to deliver the social obligation of the patron to the client and *vice-versa.* A number of job opportunities (quotas) under the patron's 'right' were given to people outside his own family, to persons who were regarded as clients, or children of clients or otherwise of patrons. So the recruits also expected to be clients of the person who had chosen them.

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job is unethical in regard to solidarity values (*guangxi* or relations among Chinese, *ukhuwah* or brotherhood among Arab).

[9] The replacement of a vice governor in 1996 was also related to the allegation of a political clique, and probably also of an excessive unofficial quota policy application, in recruiting 557 out of 1107 employees in one year in the Home Affairs Department, through a theosophy group (*D & R Magazine*, March 1997).

An informant who had just stepped down as personnel manager in a provincial level department (BSK), gave an example of the role of patron-client relationship in access to power in neo-feudalistic bureaucracy.

> I received an application that was accompanied by a letter from my ex-boss who had moved to Jakarta. I was nominated by him to be personnel manager a long time ago. The letter is simple: 'I entrust this "nephew" to you. Congratulations, you did the job (as personnel manager) successfully' and his signature. How could I exclude that applicant from my quota, besides, my ex-boss is an anticommunist so I am sure his candidate is politically clean!'

So connection in this sense is part of the social reproduction[10] of neo-feudalism through patron-client relationships. This mix between patron-client relationship and neo-feudalism also gives a chance of upward mobility to job seekers with parents in low occupations. As a result, the tendency for job seekers and their families to turn the job search from public advertisement to personal networks may empower the kinship and ethnic networks as a vehicle of social mobility. Nevertheless, with more pragmatic and formal relationships in which materialistic values seem to predominate the modern economy and bureaucracy, patron-client relationship seems to be disappearing. With this disappearance, job seekers with parents in low occupations have no access to job-assigning authorities.

7.7.2. Brokerage (*percaloan*)

Brokerage is used because the social distance between the job seekers, assigning authorities and the broker is wide. With bribery, job seekers or their parents bridged the social gap to achieve the influence of the assigning authority. Brokerage is used for cultural as well as pragmatic reasons.

The father of Didi (type D, case 20) apparently sees brokerage as part of Javanese culture. Didi used several methods simultaneously: letters of application, added to connections and brokerage.

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[10] In another example, as told by BSK, the newly appointed employees who apparently regarded themselves as having been chosen as clients, gave some money to the officials. The officials had assured them beforehand that they had not given them any help in the recruitment. The recruitment was clean. Why did these new recruits gave the money to the officials rather than to poor people? This may involve cultural reasons, reflecting feudal background.

We are Javanese. If we want to propose somebody to marry our son, it is compulsory to give notice first, through letter, messenger and small gift. If the proposal was rejected, we were not losing our face... Javanese way is *slaman, slumun, slamet* (shake hands, give something (secretly), safe.

Chi-chi's father saw brokerage as the last effort:

Using connections is just like guerrilla warfare. I was ashamed of witnessing my daughter hiding all the time, waiting for other people's effort, using small tricks and tracks. I have no knowledge and endurance for facing the uncountable mice-channels and the hanky-panky of the bureaucrats. Using a powerful broker is all-out warfare, open. It (powerful broker) is a long range missile and big money is the war-head!

Unlike connections limited to personal or familial use, brokerage is open to a wider group through word of mouth. There is almost no boundary of class, education and gender or social network in finding a broker, but according to one of the brokers, (T) true brokers usually select the potential applicants and reliable parents from the relatively high income group:

It's a waste of time if our efforts bring no result. The candidate should have adequate IP (achievement index) and have enough money, have reliable parents with high occupation or public servants are preferable. The IP, money and good parent's record have to come first. These are not for me, but for the procedure... If the effort succeeded, it would be breath-taking ending. If the effort failed, they could take all their papers and money back. I would get only small fish: the interest rate from the bank... Good parent's record is very important for me... One day, after I have obtained SK (letter of appointment) of one of my candidates, I called his parent. I thought he would bring the reward. No! He brought the police! I am not afraid of jail, my job is not illegal. I keep the SK until now. (He showed the SK).

On the other hand, according to T, false brokers preferred the powerless group who have no access to law and authority, so they are easily deceived, mostly among working-class or rural people.

The practice of brokerage inside the bureaucracy, according to broker T, a public servant who has been operating for more than 13 years in brokerage, has been growing rapidly since the introduction of the 'volunteer scheme', *wiyata bhakti,* in 1990. Job seekers have no guarantee that they will be employed. Nevertheless, as Ning (type D, case 19) said: ' [Through this channel] There is no guarantee, but there is hope and status: we could wear the uniform'.

This brokerage involves government employees in the departments where volunteers are working and results in 'institutionalized' brokerage,[11] which undoubtedly creates a longer chain of brokerage, putting job seekers into a more difficult situation. They have to work as volunteers and prepare the bribes. Nevertheless, in this kind of brokerage, job seekers with parents in high positions can exercise their power through the power network in the bureaucracy.

In this situation, job seekers with high educational qualification and with parents in high occupations have a better chance to enter a better occupation through job brokerage than educated job seekers with parents in low occupations. The latter group have only a limited chance for social mobility through connections especially through using patron-client relationship. Nevertheless, the disappearance of this kind of relationship has removed valuable channel to move upward. The working-class children also can use brokerage but with greater risk.

7.8 Acceptance of temporarily lower-status occupation

As indicated in Chapter 5, among those who were dissatisfied with their jobs (70 per cent), most of them (60 per cent) intended to search for alternative jobs. This is a role distancing: taking the role in a particular occupation in the hope that some day they could find another job that could fulfil their 'self-identity'. This strategy is a subsistent strategy: minimizes the cost of job search and continues the search through additional resource obtained *in the job*. This route was taken by those with no connections or money to bribe but with high occupational aspirations (type C).

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[11] Broker T said: 'Initially, my boss wasn't involved. But after he received some money from this moonlighting job, I then asked him for SPJ (*surat perintah jalan*, travel orders and money). Because, this job is related to government (voluntary) employees, isn't it? Every time I went to Jakarta to help the volunteers from several departments, he gave me SPJ. Some bosses in some Departments who have quota also asked me to find good candidates. So this job now is formal-official. It is silly if they come to me with police!'.

However, they are problems along this route. First, they have to pass the trial period in the work place. Second, they have to accumulate resources inside the job.

7.8.1. Passing the trial period and accumulation of resources

Some examples below show how different motives, socio-economic, educational and cultural resources influence search behaviour in entering the temporary lower-status job.

Rofi (type B, case 2) has to give money to the employers as a guarantee for some pharmaceutical products that she has to sell. She has to sell the product to obtain a quota, at minimum value of x rupiahs in six months. If she can not achieve the quota, she has to quit the job and lose the chance to get a good 'reference' or 'working experience certificate' or to continue the job. Rofi in the first six months, bought the products herself to stay in the job!
She was determined to pass the trial period since she was encouraged by her two sisters who held 'field marketing coordinator' positions and Rofi also wanted this job. Many of Rofi's friends, as Rofi explained, abandoned the trial period since they thought that this job was a strange job that forced them to spend money rather than gave them 'decent' salary.

Ririn (type D, case 12), similar to Rofi determined to pass several trial periods in a multinational shoes agency, since she and her father (an entrepreneur) wanted to open her own shoe-shop someday. On the other hand, one of her friends (Dhn, type C, case 22), was entering the job to avoid unemployment, because he had no alternative plan. He took a higher position that was initially offered to and rejected by Ririn.

Kam (type B, case 23) was 'attached' to his uncle, a bicycle dealer in North Semarang, as marketing staff for five years. His father then borrowed money from a bank to finance Kam's own business: he then opened his own business: a bicycle spare-parts dealer in Central Semarang.

Mas Rembang (type C, case 25) was attracted to one of the advertisements in a printing office, because there was a guarantee that he would be recruited as an employee. The hidden pre-requisite was entering a training period and he could earn money only if he found 'orders' from outside the firm and filled the orders. During and after the training period, he had to spent an amount of money for food, in order to qualify as trainee and to find 'printing orders' from outside the firm. As a result, many of his friends left the job that was seen as exploitative.
Mas Rembang initially had no plan to be an entrepreneur, he just wanted to get a job. Nevertheless, as Rembang said, with his BA qualification, he felt that he couldn't be a good manual worker and never mixed with his work-mates. After many customers regularly ordered him to make several printing materials, with help given by one of his customers, he then opened a joint-ownership of a small 'printing office'. One of his work-mates, Jun (type B, case 26) joined Rembang to be a worker since as Jun said, Rembang had become a good friend, as well as seeing the income as fair.

Unlike Rofi (type B, case 2) who could meet her initial job aspiration through her temporary job and Mas Rembang (type C, case 25) who could create a new job aspiration, many of Rofi's and Rembang's friends were wiped out during the 'trial period' and lost the chance to obtain 'working experience certificate', because of limited financial support or just 'plunged into the job' because they couldn't accumulate resources in the current job.

Those examples show heterogeneous tracks or destinies, nevertheless, there were some implied patterns or regularities. Generally they consisted of two groups: those who had another plan or expected a permanent job and those who did not. Job seekers with parents in high occupation tended to choose temporary jobs in a *non-random* way, because they expected that the job should provide useful resources for achieving the permanent jobs that were planned in their minds. As a

result, the concept of temporariness of the job is clear. For example, temporariness was defined as being until he or she had passed the trial period and obtained a work experience certificate. On the other hand, job seekers with parents in low occupations tended to choose temporary jobs in *random* and non-instrumental ways, because the job was simply taken as a job. Jun (type A) said: 'Don't ask me 'what kind of job' (*kerja apa?),* but 'have you any job? *(apa kerja?)).* They had no expected permanent job initially planned in their minds. As a result they had no clear concept of the temporariness of the job. They were absorbed by the extrinsic rather than intrinsic values of the job. As a result, the latter job seekers tended to desert from the trial period job or were absorbed in the job for an indefinite time. The current job could absorb job seekers for an indefinite time since any job could create new obligation, provide productive value, individual and social identity and a source of meaning of time and space.

7.8.2Accumulation of resources and the 'blast-off'

The acceptance of temporary lower status occupations gives job seekers a new identity with new social status: with new rights and burdens. Their obligations such as participation in housework are reduced, but new burdens such as contribution of income to the family's economy increased.

Parents with low income, especially with children of school age and below, see newly employed children as a source of family income. The wealth flows from children to parents. If their children are already married, they let the children be independent. Therefore, newly employed children with parents of lower-status occupation tend to be busy with the allocation of income rather than with the accumulation of resources. Class culture, especially early marriage among children of parents with low occupation, also depresses the children's chance of accumulating capital. Their dream to obtain a better job was then cool, like 'un-blast-off propellers'. Class culture also lowers the ceiling of their aspiration.

A friend of Mas Rembang (type C, case 25), Jun (type A, case 26), is one example. Instead of encouraging the newly employed son to save the money for his future, the family celebrated his first job by spending the first six months' salary for a 'thanksgiving party ' (*kenduri 'makan-makan kecil'),* because, as Jun said '(I) had found *the job'*.

On the other hand, high-income parents see children as a source of family honor, and parents sacrifice the family income for that. The ideas and wealth flow from parents to children. Kam (type B, case 23) as shown above, is one example. The entrepreneurship culture of Chinese and Arabic ethnic groups encourages children to take lessons through their attachment in various firms as employees and to practice the lessons by opening their own business.

However, there are also cases where working class children can convert their jobs into higher jobs. As in the case of Rembang who could build a small printing office mainly based on social resources available in his temporary job, the example below reflects that 'habitus' or a way of thinking or interpreting reality is a way to escape from class trajectories. A first son of a poor family, Jono (type C, case 24) expected himself to be a savior for his siblings. He was a courier for a big cigarette dealer and wanted to be a shop owner. Instead of regarding his siblings as a burden, he regarded them as resources. He refused to relinquish parts of his income to his parents, and managed it by investing it with his younger brother through opening a tiny cigarette shop to sell defective cigarettes from his boss. After three years, he could open another small cigarette shop for another younger brother. Later he was appointed as a cigarette agent by his employer to open a cigarette agency in another suburb.

Another example that reflects the importance of habitus for improving resources inside employment is the emphasis on moral uprightness and eagerness to do multiple jobs. This emphasis was taken as a subsistence strategy mostly by

working-class children. Adi (type A, case 1) said: 'Many are educated (*pinter*) people, but rare are honest people (*pener*, Javanese). So *pener* is more valuable'. Adi's boss chose less educated people but with high moral uprightness, because, as he said, their skills can be upgraded, while educated people sometimes were sissy and demanding. He said, in his car repair plant, education is simply irrelevant. A hotel owner, through his foreman, changed TukBc's destiny from rickshaw to car driver. TukBc was regarded as honest and eager to do multiple jobs: as operator, servant, driver, as well as courier to take money to the bank.

Therefore, in short, the interaction between the availability of the desired job, the availability of habitus and the resource of job seekers and their families and the strength of gravitation of resource in the current job, all determine the behaviour in accepting a temporary lower-status occupation.

7.9 Summary of findings

School leavers' perceptions of their academic abilities and parents' abilities to support their further education differentiate whether they are eager or reluctant to leave school. Those who are non-committal and reluctant to leave school tend to delay job search through the period of *menganggur* or taking vocational courses.

The decision to search for a job emerges as a result of the experience of social isolation, individual disorder in time and place, moral threat and the expectation that with paid employment it is possible to obtain independence and social identity. Educated males and those with parents holding high occupations suffer much social isolation and social deprivation if unemployed, so they intensively seek a job.

Different perceptions of the value of their educational currencies in the labour market, and the availability of resources and networks in the family to support the job search, act as self-censorship and segment job seekers themselves

in accordance with different levels of occupation available in the labour market. This results in different resource consolidation among job seekers with different educational and parental socio-economic background. Those with uncoupled matching between their education and their parental background have difficulty in identifying their appropriate segment of job. Nevertheless, in general, regardless of their socio-economic background, in the hoped-for independence and hoping for fair appreciation of educational qualifications in the labour market, job seekers with high educational qualification usually consolidate their educational capital, while those with low education ignore their educational qualification, since they regard it as irrelevant in finding the expected jobs.

Recruitment in the labour market use different means of spreading job information and occupational entry criteria. It segments job seekers in accordance with levels of education for long-term career, short-term career, and careerless jobs. In the first job search, conflict between children and parents is unusual, since in hoping for independence from parents, job seekers from all backgrounds convert their own resources, physical and educational capital, through independent search. However, many of them fail to obtain a job.

Rejection of formal work organization increases dependence on the informal socio-economic organization available to the unemployed. Less educated job seekers with parents in low occupations are more able to adapt themselves to informal socio-economic organization available to the unemployed, because their class and counter-school cultures provide values and skills to adapt. Educated job seekers, especially sons of parents in high occupations are less able to adapt. Nevertheless, for children of the middle class, the rhythm of job search that enables them to plan activities to fill unemployment and non-formal education institutions available in the area provides escape from open unemployment and a chance to accumulate human capital.

Facing rejection and prolonged unemployment, especially those with inadequate educational qualification but with parents of high socio-economic status tend to obtain help from their parents in defining and obtaining the desired job. The chance of finding effective connections and preference for those with high education and high-status parents in the recruitment through brokerage practices, enable job seekers from such background, especially males, to escape from 'down-classing'. In this regard, connections and brokerage are instruments of social reproduction.

On the other hand, educated children of parents with low occupation, and with inadequate support from parents to obtain job through connection and brokerage, tended to change their initial job aspiration or to accept a temporary lower-status job. As a result, the former are more dependent and rely much on their parents' social and economic resources, while the latter tended to be more independent and rely much on their own resources in achieving a higher occupation.

Moral uprightness and eagerness to do multiple jobs are resource emphasized by job seekers of working class background. This subsistence strategy also provides chance for social mobility since they are preferred, in the private sector in particular.

Efforts to find the desired job through temporary lower-status jobs is more successful among those with parents in high occupations, because they have plans and support, and can accumulate resources during the working period, while those with parents in low occupations have no chance to accumulate resources and are absorbed into the temporary lower-status jobs for an indefinite time.

In short, perceptions of educational achievement, sex and parental background determine job search behaviour. Social mobility -upward and down-ward – tended to be more probable among those with uncoupled matching between

their education and social origin. The transition from school to work tended to be 'smooth' among those with coupled matching.

Differences in capital or resources of parents, education and sex determined the power and direction of search behaviour. On the other hand, differences in entry criteria and recruitment practices in the labour market provide different chances for job seekers to obtain the desired jobs. With better education and eagerness to do multiple jobs, working-class children have motivation and the chance to escape from their class trajectories. In summary, social order is partly maintained through differences in search behaviour and incorporation of job seekers' membership into the social order.

CHAPTER 8
FAMILY BACKGROUND, EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT

8.1 Introduction

The relationship between parental background (social origins) and education on the one hand and occupation on the other hand, implies that there are distances and closures of different occupations to the education an individual has achieved and the ascribed parental background. The idea that jobs are independent of incumbents and depend on their place in a technically rational division of labour was introduced by Weber (cited in Granovetter, 1994:370). Reward depends on the position of the job in the occupational hierarchy, independent of the incumbent.

One of the factors that is important in the mechanism is the value system in which rewards and penalties are given to people, which brings them to a certain position within the social structure. The degree of association between socio-economic background and achieved status, and the mechanism of the association, is assumed to be different in each society, therefore each society has a different degree and process of stratification. The more the circumstances of birth or rearing of the individual control his or her achievement, as Slavastoga (1965:10) suggests, the more stratified is the society; conversely, the greater the opportunity for people in the society to gain a status different from their status of their origin, the less stratified is the society. Competence is one of the criteria by which people are classified and distributed into different social positions. Education is seen as a means of social reproduction by which societies can prepare the young to be competent adults.

In Indonesian, the national education system is planned to provide equal educational opportunity for children regardless of their background and to prepare children to be competent adults. In Javanese culture in particular, however, according to Mulder (1985:39), education emphasizes character building less than reproduction of the social order. In the last three decades before he wrote, however, the hierarchy

of the society had gradually changed from prestige based to class-based (economic and power based) through economic change (Mulder, 1985:107).

An important issue then is whether schooling serves as a 'channel of social mobility' (Treiman and Terrell, 1975) or 'as a vehicle for the direct transmission of economic status from one generation to the next' (Bowles, 1972, cited in Bielby, 1981:7). If the answer is the former, the influence of education can interrupt the existing inequality, but if the answer is the latter, education is only a way reproducing and inheriting parental socio-economic inequality. Also, there is the question whether occupational inheritance from parents to children is prevalent in the three cities of Java.

8.2. Correspondence between education and employment

There are various theories regarding the correspondence between educational institutions or schooling and the workplace.

According to the Traditional Functionalist view, institutions can be understood only in terms of how they serve society. The workplace is one of the most important institutions in need of competent adults and schooling is to prepare pupils with skills, attitudes and personalities acceptable in the workplace (Inkeles and Smith, 1974). In modern society, a key purpose of educational institutions is to prepare pupils to be competent adults. Dreeben (1968:114-32) noted that there were parallel structures and functions of school and work organization. Functionalists like Davis and Moore ([1945] in Grusky, 1994:40) argue that unequal rewards are necessary because some positions in society are more important than others.

Similar to this view, Human Capital theory assumes that different characteristics between individuals with different levels of education create different levels of productivity. Since firms pay workers a wage that reflects their productivity, workers who have more favourable characteristics such as high levels of education, regardless of their social background, will have higher occupation and earnings than

those who possess less favourable characteristics (Hinchliffe, 1987:142; McNabb, 1987:158). This theory suggests that education promotes social mobility.

Nevertheless, Human Capital theory, according to Levin (1987:151), does not view schooling as 'a battle ground' of conflicting interests and cannot explain why adult competence is treated differently by the school and the work place according to race, sex and social background. Similar to that of Levin, the Segmentation theory in economic theory suggests that education serves to legitimize labour segmentation along those factors through the development of personality traits among different groups that are necessary for maintaining the occupational hierarchy (Hinchliffe, 1987:143). That is why, according to Bowles and Gintis (1976), there are struggles over the state agenda, including education, when capitalists have interests in shaping the labour supply through schools[1].

Similar to the segmentation theory, the social reproduction theory of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) in sociology asserts that the main function of schooling is to reproduce the hierarchical and power relations in the class and the work place. School as an agent of the dominant culture provides more chance to children who are socialized within the dominant culture; therefore schooling legitimates and certifies inequality of class inheritors. Other Marxist sociologists, such as Althusser (1971) view education as part of an ideological apparatus to reproduce skill production and division of labour. Therefore, the education system determines the way people work and what people should do to conform to class structure and class relations in the society. With these functions, education is seen as a socialization force that reproduces skills, values and ideology, legitimating social inequality and domination in the school as well as in the workplace. These theories

[1] In Indonesia, there was a big shift in the political rhetoric which might have reflected ideological struggle over the education agenda. The former minister of education, Fuad Hassan argued in the 1980s that matching skilled output to industry is not the purpose of education; on the other hand, the current minister, Wardiman Djojonegoro, emphasizes the 'link and match' of education to the world of industry.

imply that education merely acts as a vehicle for direct transmission of economic status from one generation to another.

The Critical Autonomy theory (Giroux, 1981), unlike the functionalist and Marxist theories, envisages schooling as an autonomous institution which teaches hegemonic culture and provides opportunities for pupils to resist the dominant culture. Unlike the functionalists, it also sees that education institutionalizes ideological hegemony that is reflected in the curricula, teaching practices, and school administration. Nevertheless, learning practice provides room for resisting and accepting the dominant culture; therefore it provides opportunity for equality and social mobility. Likewise, Carnoy and Levin (1985:76) argue that schooling operates in the context of social conflict, but through educational institutions the State tries to accommodate the demands of both capitalism and democracy. Education is both a subsidy to employers and a way for pupils to gain social mobility. Education reproduces the unequal hierarchical relations of the family and workplace and at the same time, provides opportunities for social mobility and democratic rights.

8.3.Non-educational factors and occupational attainment

The theories above, although they disagree on the issue whether education serves social mobility, seem to agree that there is a correspondence in regard to the macro-aspect, the correspondence between educational institutions and the workplace and in the micro-aspect: who gets what level of education and what level of employment; education is a primary source of occupational attainment. Nevertheless, as Levin (1987:152-53) argues, this correspondence paradigm does not explain the reality of 'over-production of educated people', especially in developing countries.

Sanyal (1987:174) also saw a lack of correspondence, in regard to quantity and quality, between education and employment particularly in developing countries. In many developing countries, the modern educational institution was introduced by colonial governments to meet a limited demand for local personnel. Mass-education

without adequate modification, after Independence, results in educational output that prefers the modern sector, but face limited opportunities.

If the level of correspondence between level of education (supply) and level of occupation (demand) decreases, other institutions outside formal education which emerge to match the demand and supply of labour are important in allocating school leavers in the occupational structure. In this situation, the role of non- educational factors such as parental socioeconomic status, kinship network, religious affiliation and other ascribed factors, and the availability of matching institutions may become increasingly important in the stratification process. In this regard, Bourdieu's (1986) social reproduction theory is important. It also emphasizes non-educational factors: the economic value of cultural, social, economic, symbolic and bodily capital of parents and children as sources of occupational inequality. According to Bourdieu (1986:147), parents' efforts to rebuild the interrupted class trajectory for their children are among the most important factors in the structural change of the society Similarly, Granovetter (1994:370) indicated that not only difference in educational qualification, but also difference in jobs and their organization available in the society and the mechanisms of matching the potential to the jobs, all contribute to difference in occupational attainment.

The role of social organization and cultural practice in the recruitment process in situations of high unemployment in developing countries was discussed by Clignet (1980:76), who found that in some African countries, there was a decline in the benefits derived from a given level of education, and furthermore a differential decline for different social, cultural and ethnic groups. This situation, he speculated, would result in different demand and entry to school, and would advantage the most modernized middle and upper classes and reinforce social and ethnic stratification.

8.4. The approach of this study

This study, in which individual characteristics, rather than structural factors, are put as the main predictors of occupational attainment, falls into the mainstream school of social mobility study. The Status Attainment model used in this study assumes that the process of achievement is happening through the socio-economic life cycle; family-school-job, as the conceptual framework. Secondly, the process of stratification can be translated into a model, in which occupational attainment is directly or indirectly influenced by education and socioeconomic background, in linear equations (Duncan, Featherman and Duncan, 1972:9). The main weakness of the model as stated by Duncan, Featherman and Duncan (1972:3), '...is whether or not and to what degree such achievement depends on factors other than the individual's competence and inclination to perform the role on the basis of which status is conferred'. Structural and organizational factors are put forward by structuralists as the main factors which influence individual achievement. In Java, structural change in the last three decades, in the economy in particular, may have been important in the process of stratification and individual achievement.

Nevertheless, there are arguments defending the status attainment paradigm as an approach, which indirectly incorporates the structural factors in the model. Attainment studies are designed to measure the magnitude of organizational influences of family and education on individuals' occupations: factors which are clearly 'structural' in the sociological sense and occupation as the dependent variable is not divorced from organizational influence since detailed occupations circumscribe the organizational promotion ladder (Baron, 1994:388). Another argument is that, in a situation where free-market and deregulation of markets has been attempted to increase efficiency, contest mobility and meritocratic values seem likely to homogenize – rather than to heterogenize – the organizational behaviour of

school and labour market. This in turn results in the decrease in the significance of organizational issues in this study.

On the basis of the noted weakness of the status attainment model, Bielby (1981:16-18) suggests that the model should incorporate variables which could catch a more complete effect of background and individual characteristics variables, and the process of matching an individual to a particular job. The present study also includes non-parental socio-economic background and non-education variables, such as sex, ethnicity, religion and job search methods, which may be important in influencing the occupational attainment of school leavers in Java.

8.5. Measurement of occupational status

Respondents' occupations in this study were ordered according to the International Occupational SES Index developed by (Ganzeboom et al., 1992:1-51). This index, similar to Duncan's index, is based on the assumption that occupation is an intervening mechanism between education and income. According to Ganzeboom et al (1992:11), by capturing as much as possible the influence of the indirect effect of education on income and minimizes the direct effect, controlling for the effect of age on all three variables, the estimation of scores for occupational categories is an exercise in optimal scaling techniques.

Some reasons to apply this Index on the Indonesian data on this study are first, 'the occupational structure essentially is invariant across spans of several decades among societies and regions, among the socio-cultural characteristics of rankers, and over dimensions of ranking' (Hauser and Featherman, 1977:5). Indeed, in the previous studies, there is a high correlation between rank of occupation in the United States and in the Philippines (0.96, see Hodge, Treiman and Rossi, 1966:310) and in the United States and Indonesia (correlation = 0.94, see Thomas and Soeparman, 1963).

Second, the Index developed by Ganzeboom et al. was based on 31 sets of data taken between 1968 to 1982 from 16 nations from severely under-developed to developed countries and with different political system (Ganzeboom et al., 1992:33-51). So Indonesian data on occupation, education and income are assumed to fall somewhere in the middle and to be well represented.

Third, the ISCO occupational titles in which Ganzaboom's stack files were re-coded – fortunately – was also supplemented with data on self-employment and supervisory status for both respondents and their fathers, something that is expected to increase the applicability of the Ganzeboom index in the study at hand.

Fourth, as there has been rapid development in urban areas of Indonesia in the last three decades, the structure of occupations, in urban areas in particular, is assumed to be similar to the structure of occupations in other countries.

Nevertheless, the result of the application of the index to females in the study in particular has to be interpreted more carefully, since not only is the different degree of discrimination among countries against women not yet considered in the index, but also the scores for characteristically female occupations are estimated from relatively limited number of cases.

8.6. Effects of social origin, education and matching process on occupational attainment: regression results[2]

8.6.1. The direct effects

As shown in Tables 8.1 and 8.3, occupational attainment is influenced by individual characteristics, socio-environmental and parental background, and in the case of males, also by life contingency, in the form of migration status. This study confirms many status attainment studies which show that educational attainment and parental background are among the strongest predictors of occupational attainment (see Blau and Duncan, 1967; Duncan et al., 1972:39). In this study, the proportion

[2] Since the test (Appendix 8.1) shows that the coefficients of males and females were significantly different, the regressions for males and females were run separately.

explained by education (R square change) for males was 11 per cent, (with standardized regression coefficient = .82 –standardized = 0.16) and R square change for females was 18 per cent (with regression coefficient =1.53 –standardized =0.30). Parents' education has a significant effect on occupational attainment of both males and females, but father's occupation only has a significant effect on that of females.

Other factors which also significantly influenced the occupational attainment of both males and females but with weaker effects were age and religion of mother, with region and migration status also important especially in the males', and number of siblings especially in the females', occupational attainment.

In this study, the matching process, in the form of source of job information and whether employees were helped when they were obtaining jobs, had no significant effect on occupational attainment. The model could explain 32 and 49 per cent of the variation in occupational attainment of males and females respectively.

8.6.1.1 Effects of demographic and socio-environmental factors on occupational attainment

Demographic characteristics such as age and number of siblings (for females) and life-cycle contingency such as migration status (for males) have significant effects on occupational attainment. On the effect of age, for example, if everything else is held constant, an increase of one year of age will increase the occupational status of males by 44 percentage point (Table 8.1) and of females by 37 percentage point (Table 8.3) in the Ganzeboom index. So, compared to the youngest males (aged 15), males who were 29 years old have occupations 6.6 points higher and by contrast, for the females, 5.18 points higher.

At least four reasons could explain this situation. First, among those who are in the older cohorts, a longer time in a particular job, thus longer exposure for accumulating social contacts or networks and involvement in on-the-job training, is more probable. Although the role of formal education is growing, according to

Goldthorpe (1980:54-62), the role of on-the-job training for career mobility is not decreasing. Second, in the three cities, traditional sectors, such as the construction and crafts activities, which emphasize occupational experience and seniority, rather than formal qualifications as occupational placement criteria are still important. Third, employers put more trust in older job seekers for psychological reasons. Fourth, the older cohorts may have a wider choice of occupations, because, although are generally less educated than the younger cohort, there was less unemployment at the time when they were entering the labour market than at present (see Chapter 2). So tighter competition may have pushed many of the younger cohorts, although they may better educated, into lower occupations. This may have two effects: first, the increase in the intergenerational gap in occupation which was reflected in the positive effect of age on occupational attainment; and second, a relatively weak impact, though still the strongest, of education on occupational attainment.

Table 8.1

Regression of the probability of occupational attainment among male employees 15 to 29 years, three cities of Java, 1994 (N=1170). (Reference categories were coded 0).

Independent variables	Number of cases	Regression coefficient Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	Standard-ized
Age	1170	.79***	.76***	.66***	.42***	.44***	.07***
		(.08)	(.08)	(.08)	(.07)	(.08)	(.01)
Number of siblings	1170	-.09	-.01	.02	.01	.02	.00
		(.11)	(.11)	(.10)	(.09)	(.09)	(.01)
Place of birth							
Rural	137						
Urban	1033		1.90	.76	-.73	.36	.00
			(.84)	(.90)	(.85)	(1.03)	(.01)
Region							
Jakarta	681						
Semarang	202		.29	1.34	1.50*	1.60*	.03*
			(.85)	(.81)	(.75)	(.76)	(.01)
Surabaya	287		.37	.61	.03	.16	.00
			(.74)	(.71)	(.66)	(.67)	(.01)
Ethnicity							
Babesuma	341						
Javanese	560		.53	-.20	-.62	-.62	-.01
			(.71)	(.68)	(.64)	(.64)	(.01)
Others	267		.49	-.04	-.12	-.12	-.00
			(.83)	(.79)	(.73)	(.73)	(.01)
Religion of mother							
Non-Moslem	146						
Moslem	1024		-5.86***	-4.21***	-3.76***	-3.74***	-.06***
			(1.00)	(.96)	(.89)	(.89)	(.01)
Parents' education	1170			.98***	.51***	.50***	.07***
				(.09)	(.09)	(.09)	(.01)
Father's occupation							
Professional	48			1.88	.87	1.37	.01
				(1.69)	(1.57)	(1.60)	(.01)
Clerical	123			-1.87	-2.37	-1.88	-.03
				(1.38)	(1.28)	(.1.31)	(.02)
Trades	306			-.58	-.62	-.15	-.00
				(1.22)	(1.13)	(1.16)	(.02)
Services	98			-2.66	-2.79	-2.25	-.02
				(1.42)	(1.32)	(1.35)	(.01)
Production	490			-1.93	-1.38	-.82	-.01
				(1.17)	(1.09)	(.07)	(.02)
Farmers	80						
Education	1170				.83***	.82***	.16***
					(.07)	(.07)	(.01)
Voc. training							
No training	794						
Trained	376				1.92**	1.99**	.04**
					(.55)	(.55)	(.01)
Migration status							
Non-migrant	946						
Migrant	224					1.67*	.03*
						(.83)	(.01)
Marital status							
Single	906						
Married	264					-.45	-.01
						(.62)	(.01)
Source of job info.							
Non-family	316						
Family members	854					.21	.003
						(.54)	(.01)
Help							
Without help	677						
Helped	493					.15	.004
						(.48)	(.01)
Constant		17.3029	20.2360	16.3475	15.0415	13.2418	
R square		.06	.11	.21	.32	.32	
F		41.71	19.01	22.33	34.41	27.78	
R square change		.06	.05	.09	.11	.00	
F change		41.71***	10.75***	23.76***	93.87***	1.17	

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994

( ), *, ** and *** see note on Table 3.3.

Table 8.2

Total effect, direct effect and indirect effect[a] of variables on occupational attainment of males 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994.

Independent variables (1)	Total effect (2)	Direct effect (3)	Indirect effect (4)	Indirect / Total effect (5)
Age	.79***	.44***	-.35	.44
Siblings	-.09	.02	-.11	1.22
Place of birth	1.90	.36	-1.54	.81
Region				
Semarang	.29	1.60*	+1.31	4.51
Surabaya	.37	.16	-.21	.56
Ethnicity				
Javanese	.53	-.62	-1.24	2.33
Others	.49	-.12	-.61	1.24
Religion of mother	-5.86***	-3.74***	-2.12	.36
Education of parent	.98***	.50***	-.48	.49
Father's occupation				
Professional	1.88	1.37	-.51	.27
Clerical	-1.87	-1.88	+.01	.00
Trades	-.58	-.15	-.43	.74
Services	-2.66	-2.25	-.41	.15
Production	-1.93	-.82	-1.11	.57
Education	.83***	.82***	-.01	.01
Vocational training	1.92**	1.99**	+.07	.03
Migration status	1.67	1.67	.00	.00
Marital status	-.45	-.45	.00	.00
Source of information	.21	.21	.00	.00
Help	.15	.15	.00	.00

Source: Table 8.1

[a] see note on Table 3.4.

Table 8.3
Regression of the probability of occupational attainment among female employees 15 to 29 years, three cities of Java, 1994 (N= 856). (Reference categories were coded 0).

Independent Variables.	Cases	Regression coefficient					Standard-ized
		Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	
Age	856	.35***	1.03***	.83***	.35***	.37***	.06***
		(.09)	(.11)	(.14)	(.09)	(.10)	(.01)
Number of siblings	856	-.41*	-.32*	-.24	-.29*	-.30*	-.03*
		(.16)	(.15)	(.14)	(.12)	(.12)	(.01)
Place of birth							
Rural	85						
Urban	771		8.23***	3.80*	1.99	1.92	.02
			(1.27)	(1.14)	(.1.24)	(.1.44)	(.02)
Region							
Jakarta	449						
Semarang	177		-1.55	.02	-.57	-.62	-.01
			(1.13)	(1.06)	(.91)	(.92)	(.01)
Surabaya	230		-1.35	.07	-.06	-.11	-.002
			(1.00)	(.94)	(.81)	(.82)	(.01)
Ethnicity							
Babesuma	188						
Javanese	453		3.45**	1.17	.88	.88	.02
			(1.05)	(.99)	(.85)	(.85)	(.02)
Others	215		1.95	-.03	.16	.12	.002
			(1.22)	(.1.15)	(.99)	(.99)	(.02)
Religion of mother							
Non-Moslem	134						
Moslem	722		-5.40***	-4.02**	-2.75*	-2.73*	-.04*
			(1.27)	(1.18)	(.1.02)	(1.03)	(.01)
Parents' educ.	856			1.40***	.54***	.55***	.08***
				(.12)	(.11)	(.12)	(.01)
Father's occup.							
Professional	27			6.84*	4.63*	4.68*	.04*
				(.2.54)	(.2.19)	(.2.20)	(.02)
Clerical	119			2.62	-.21	-.20	-.003
				(.1.86)	(.1.61)	(.1.67)	(.02)
Trades	201			1.87	-.40	-.39	-.008
				(1.70)	(.1.47)	(.1.52)	(.02)
Services	70			2.05	-.06	-.08	-.001
				(.1.94)	(.1.68)	(1.70)	(.02)
Production	359			3.24*	.64	.66	.01
				(1.66)	(.1.43)	(.1.49)	(.03)
Farmers	68						
Education	856				1.53***	1.53***	.30***
					(.09)	(.09)	(.01)
Voc. training							
No training	407						
Trained	449				1.04	.99	.02
					(.67)	(.68)	(.01)
Migration status							
Non-migrant	701						
Migrant	155					-.06	-.001
						(1.11)	(.02)
Marital status							
Single	644						
Married	212					-.40	-.009
						(.73)	(.01)
Source of info.							
Non-family	231						
Family members	625					-.17	-.003
						(.68)	(.01)
Help							
Without help	507						
Helped	349					-.63	-.01
						(.64)	(.01)
Constant		15.8160	15.4636	10.6987	11.4202	12.8129	
R square		.11	.18	.31	.49	.49	
F		54.57	24.35	27.87	51.95	41.51	
R square change		.11	.07	.12	.18	.00	
F change		54.57***	12.79***	26.75***	151.72***	.36	

Source: Survey Data 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
( ), *, ** and *** see note on Table 3.3

Table 8.4

Total effect, direct effect and indirect effect[a] of variables on occupational attainment of females 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994

Independent variables (1)	Total effect (2)	Direct effect (3)	Indirect effect (4)	Indirect / Total effect (5)
Age	.35***	.37***	+.02	.06
Siblings	-.41*	-.30	-.11	.27
Place of birth	8.23***	1.92	-6.31	.76
Region				
Semarang	-1.55	-.62	-.93	.60
Surabaya	-1.35	-.11	-1.25	.92
Ethnicity				
Javanese	3.45**	.88	-2.57	.74
Others	1.95	.12	-1.83	.93
Religion of mother	-5.40***	-2.73*	-2.67	.49
Education of parents	1.40***	.55***	-.85	.60
Father's occupation				
Professional	6.84*	4.68*	-2.16	.31
Clerical	2.62	-.20	-2.82	1.07
Trades	1.87	-.39	-2.26	1.20
Services	2.05	.08	-1.97	.96
Production	3.24*	.66	-2.58	.79
Education	1.53***	1.53***	.00	.00
Vocational training	1.04	.99	-.05	.04
Migration status	-.06	-.06	.00	.00
Marital status	-.40	-.40	.00	.00
Source of info.	-.17	-.17	.00	.00
Help	-.63	-.63	.00	.00

Source: Table 8.3.

[a] see note on Table 3.4.

Number of siblings has no negative effect on occupational attainment of males but has a significant negative effect on the occupational attainment of females. This is interesting, because, as mentioned in Chapter 3, number of siblings has no effect on the educational attainment of either males or females. A heavy government subsidy in education may reduce differences in the economic barriers and in the real demand for schooling between families with more and families with fewer children. On the other hand, in the labour market, the barrier to females' participation in the labour market remains strong. As a result, the labour market appears to be more selective of those who have career expectations or otherwise those who are forced to participate for economic reasons. In this regard, number of siblings may have a significant influence. First, probably, females with different number of siblings have different reasons for entering the labour market. Females with many siblings are for economic reasons less 'choosy' and accept lower occupations. On the other hand,

females with fewer siblings, because of career expectations, are entering high occupations. This has resulted in the distribution of females with different number of siblings in very different levels of occupation. Second, apparently there are different family role expectations between females with more and fewer siblings. Females with few siblings were less likely to have a brother than those with more siblings. So, females with few siblings, especially those with no brothers, may participate in the labour force not just for economic reasons, but primarily for family-role reasons, such as to 'inherit' their fathers' socio-economic status. On the other hand, females with more siblings are more likely to have brothers, so obligation to the family pride and inheritance may have been taken by their brothers. Besides this, a larger number of siblings results in the dilution of female worker's income to help their siblings, especially their brothers, so they have less chance to accumulate money capital to improve their own careers.

Therefore, different occupational placement resulting from different reasons for involvement in the labour market, along with different family role expectations and responsibilities between females with more and less siblings, may cause the negative effect of the number of siblings on the occupational attainment of females. So the sibling hypothesis (Blake, 1989), although it is not confirmed with respect to the negative effect on educational attainment (Chapter 3), is verified with respect to the negative effect on occupational attainment, of females in particular.

Regional differences in occupational attainment are apparent, for males in particular. A better occupational attainment among male employees in Semarang may be due to two reasons: first, parental factors seem to provide better opportunities for males in Semarang. This was indicated in the increase of the regression coefficient of the Semarang region relative to the reference category (Jakarta) after parental background variables, parents' education and father's occupation, were included in the model (see Table 8.1—Model C).

Second, employment in Semarang may provide less fierce competition than in other two cities, since Jakarta and Surabaya are among the popular migration destinations. Less competition in Semarang may provide looser occupational entry criteria and a wider track for career advancement.

For both sons and daughters of Moslem mothers, the probability of obtaining a better occupation is lower (-3.74 and -2.73 points) than for sons and daughters of non-Moslem mothers. In Java in particular, religious differences in occupation, especially between Moslems and Christians apparently is largely the result of different political rather than ideological settings. Political settings in the Colonial era put non-Moslems as 'mediators' between the colonial elite in the bureaucracy or trades sectors and the Moslem masses in lower occupations. The historical background of their parents and ancestors may provide a better culture and access for children of non-Moslem background to enter higher occupations mostly in the bureaucracy, services and trades sectors.

Migration, especially for males, also has positive effects on occupational attainment. The selective characteristics, which drive migrants, as well as the change of residence that can bring them into areas with denser job options, may have given them a chance for obtaining a better occupation.

8.6.1.2 The effect of parental factors on occupational attainment

The influence of parental factors (in this case parents' education and fathers' occupation) on children's occupational attainment operates in at least two ways: first, through cultural and social investment in the children and second, through the job acquisition of the children. The first relates to the socialization process both inside as well as outside school by which children accumulate resources and skills, such as tastes, manners, social skills, occupational aspirations, performance and educational qualifications. These resources and skills have economic values that can be converted into a job. Through this socialization process parents indirectly influence their

children's chance of obtaining a better occupation. Secondly, there is the possible direct conversion of money, and social, occupational and symbolic capital owned by parents in the job acquisition of their children (Bourdieu, 1986:147-154).

By understanding these various influences, we can see that the effects of children's education (Tables 8.1 and 8.3), and the type of help given to them, on occupational attainment (Table 8.5) only represent *parts* of the various effects of parental background on occupational attainment. Education and the matching process variables identified in this study, especially source of job information and whether or not job seekers were helped in finding jobs, are simply inadequate to represent the whole influence of parental factors on children's occupational attainment. Therefore, it is understandable that after educational and the matching process variables are put in the model, parental background consisting of parents' education and father's occupation still has independent and significant effects on occupational attainment.

The significant effects of parents' education and father's occupation on children's occupational attainment suggest that parents with different social status (education) and class (occupation) influence the matching process of children into their class trajectories through factors other than children's education. Among others, shown in Chapter 7, is recruitment through brokerage by which children of parents with high socio-economic status are preferred by the brokers. Second, differences in the material and social resources and occupational culture between children with parents of high and low socio-economic statuses may result in different levels of aspiration and methods to achieve them. Third, parents with different resources create different self-employed jobs for their children. Fourth, parents are really involved in the matching process that in turn determines the sources of job information and help, but different social statuses of parents or helpers, rather than different techniques chosen, affect job acquisition by different magnitudes. The issue then is 'who use the job search method' rather than 'what job search method is used'

and the social status and power of the person who helps job seekers[3]' rather than the social tie of the helper. In the paternalistic society of Indonesia, who use the method and who help seems to be more decisive, so parents with high socio-economic status are more successful in placing their children in high occupations.

As shown in Model E (Table 8.1), for each additional year of their parents' education, sons' occupation averages 0.50 points higher on the Ganzeboom index. So, assuming everything else to be equal, the occupation of males whose parents have university qualifications is 9.0 points higher than the occupation of males whose parents have no education. By contrast (see Table 8.3, Model E) the occupation of daughters of parents with university qualification is 9.9 points higher than the occupation of daughters whose parents have no schooling. For females, differences in father's occupation also bring different chances of occupational achievement. Daughters whose fathers have professional occupations are more likely to obtain a higher occupation (4.68 points higher on the Ganzeboom index) than daughters of farmers. For sons, of the parental background variables, only father's education has a significant effect. These facts indicate that intergenerational socio-economic inheritance is greater for daughters than sons.

Why is this so? One reason is that, as in the case of differentials in females' labour-force participation, daughters who participate in the workforce are more diverse: some enter the workforce for psychological reasons such as for self-fulfillment, mostly among daughters with parents in high occupations, and others enter the workforce for economic reasons, mostly daughters of the working class. As a result, there are significant differences in occupational attainment among daughters with different parental educational as well as occupational background.

For sons, a weaker effect of parental background on their occupational attainment may occur because those who are working are less selective, and limited

[3] Lin, Vaughn and Ensel (1981a) and Marsden and Hulbert (1988) found that the occupational status of

job opportunity may have forced most male job seekers of this age, 15 to 29 years, into lower and unmatched jobs (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 5) and caused the interruption of the father-son line of occupational inheritance in this new cohort.

A second reason is that the change in the occupational structure in Java (Chapter 2), such as the increase in production occupations especially in manufacturing sectors, may create asymmetric occupational structures which give much benefits for girls than boys. So different reasons for entering the labour market among females and massive entrants into lower occupations among males may increase occupational inheritance for daughters and reduce occupational inheritance for sons. Nevertheless, the change in the occupational structure seems to be less radical and shows 'reinvention' or continuation, since socio-economic status inheritance, especially parents' educational status, on sons' occupation remains strong. Why does parents' education appear to have a greater influence than father's occupation?[4]. This situation could raise the issue of whether, in the three cities, social prestige, measured by parents' education, is more important than social class, measured by father's occupation, in determining the occupational allocation of children.

Among the reasons for this is that, as a variable, parents' education may be more sensitive for measuring parental resources than father's occupation. Secondly, as Bourdieu indicated (1986:151), cultural capital or education tends to be superior over economic capital occupation, since with their cultural capital parents have a better insight to choose better educational and occupational tracks for their children: occupations that are professionally ill-defined and demand social capital to enter (Bourdieu, 1986:151).

Thirdly, the social hierarchy in Java may be mainly based on prestige rather than class (Mulder, 1985:107), for which education is central in determining a

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the contact person or helpers has significant influence on occupational achievement.

person's membership in the society. So, in this kind of society, parents with high education have greater authority and access to job assigning authorities. Besides, children of parents with high education, from the employer's point of view, have potential 'nobility' – and are thus legitimate – to occupy high occupations.

Compared to occupational attainment in the developed countries[5], such as the United States in 1967 (Blau, Duncan and Tyree, 1994), this study shows that the inheritance of occupational status from father to sons in Java was strong. In the United States' data, although father's occupation has a significant effect (but weak – coefficient of determination .22), parents' education has no significant effect on either the first or the last occupation of sons. In the three cities' data on the other hand, although father's occupation has no significant effect, despite being also controlled by several non-educational factors, parents' education still has a significant effect on sons' occupational attainment: the coefficient of determination is .50, in standardized form .07).

8.6.1.3 Effect of education on occupation

As shown in Table 8.1, Model E, for males, assuming that everything else is equal, for each additional year of their education, their occupation averages 0.83 points higher on the Ganzeboom index. So, occupation of males with a university qualification is 14.76 points higher than occupation of males with no education. By contrast, for females with this qualification (Table 8.3, Model E), occupation is 27.54 points higher than for females with no education. In standardized form, however, the differences are small: 2.88 points for males and 5.4 points for females. It is interesting to note that, especially in the case of males, vocational training has a significant effect on occupation, independent of education: males with vocational training have a higher (1.99 points) occupation than those who have no vocational training.

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[4] Father's occupation even has no significant effect on son's occupational attainment.

A strong and independent effect of education on occupation indicates that human capital investment in education is an important factor in allocating school leavers across occupational strata and providing social mobility for children from various socio-economic backgrounds. Therefore, besides parental social capital, human capital apparently remains powerful in paving the way for the careers of young people.

Nevertheless, compared to the effect of years of education on sons' occupational attainment in developed countries, such as the United States in 1967 (Blau, Duncan and Tyree, 1994), this study shows a weaker effect of education on occupational attainment: in standardized form, the coefficient of determination for the United States data was 0.44 on the first job and 0.39 on the last job, while for the three cities' data it was only 0.16).

The stronger effect of the ascribed factor, parental background, and the weaker effect of the achieved factor, education, on occupational attainment in the three cities of Java relative to the United States in 1967, means that the reward system in Java is less meritocratic and there is less chance for social mobility.

The significant effect of parental background – parents' education, occupation and religion – on the occupation of the children may imply that the economic return resulting from the occupational attainment for a given level of education differs across the socio-economic backgrounds of parents. Therefore, with the same amount of capital invested to achieve the same level of education and apparently with greater sacrifices made by parents of lower socio-economic status, the economic reward is lower than for parents with high socio-economic status. This implies that wastage of educated human resources is greater among children of the working class. Investment in education is becoming more beneficial for children and parents of the middle and upper class or among the most modern group. As a

[5] Unfortunately, no comparable data from developing countries are available.

consequence, possibly, there are increasing differentials in the social demand for education among parents with different socio-economic statuses. If this is the case, the decline in the enrolment of pupils aged 14 and above in 1995 relative to the 1980s (Jones et al, forthcoming) possibly was partly caused by the discouragement of parents with low socio-economic status from sending their employable children for further education.

8.6. 2. Indirect effects of variables on occupation

By comparing coefficients for the variables which appear in the successive models, Model A through Model E of Tables 8.1 and 8.3, we can identify which variables in the subsequent model are mediating the indirect effect of any variable in the reduced model. For example, as shown in the first row of Table 8.1, the coefficients for the age variable drop from 0.79 (total effect, Model A) to 0.44 (direct effect, Model E): a reduction of 0.35 points or around 44 per cent of the total effect (Table 8.2).

A considerable proportion of the indirect effect, as shown in Table 8.2 and 8.4 (both in column 5), is provided by the individual characteristics, socio-environmental and parental background variables. For some variables, such as number of siblings, place of birth, and ethnicity for males, and place of birth, region, parents' education and occupation for females, the indirect effects on occupational attainment are even larger than the direct effects.

As indicated in Table 8.1, this indirect effect of age is partly mediated by the parents' education and father's occupation variables and largely by the respondent's education and vocational experience variables, since the coefficient of age declines after these variables are put in the model. A similar route of influence through parental background (parents' education and father's occupation) and education can be observed in the case of religion of mother. So these parental factors and educational factors, besides having their own significant direct effects, also mediate

the indirect effects of age and religion of mother on occupational attainment. So, confirming the status attainment model, parental background and educational attainment are the nexuses of factors that greatly influence occupational attainment.

Nevertheless, in general, as shown in Table 8.1, most of the coefficients for the individual characteristics, socio-environmental and parental background of males decrease after educational factors are put in the model. This tendency is much clearer in the case of females (Table 8.3). Comparing the proportion of the indirect effect to the total effect shown in Table 8.2 (males) and Table 8.4 (females), shows that the proportion of the indirect effect that was mediated through schooling on daughters is higher than on sons; 60 per cent of the effect of parental education and ranging from 31 to 79 per cent of the effect of father's occupation on daughter's occupational attainment (Table 8.4 column 5) are transmitted through schooling.

On the other hand, the comparative figures for males are only 49 per cent and 27 – 57 per cent respectively and the effects of fathers' occupation on sons' occupation are insignificant (Table 8.2 columns 5). Therefore, education of respondent is becoming the most important variable in determining occupational attainment, not only because of its strongest direct effect but also because of its role in mediating the indirect effect of several variables. These indicate that schools transmit and reproduce socio-economic inequality and the strength of the reproduction of socio-economic status from one generation to the next is much stronger for daughters than for sons.

Nevertheless, the *independent* and significant effect of education on occupation indicates that education, which is only partly determined by parental backgrounds, also provides a way of social mobility. This is evidence that higher education provides a way to move upward. For upward mobility, as shown in the coefficient of determination, formal schooling is more promising for daughters than sons, but vocational training appears to be more beneficial for sons than for

daughters. Nevertheless, in general, the fact that there are independent positive effects of parents' education and occupation on both children's education (see Chapter 3) and occupation suggests that schools transmit parents' socio-economic status by which children are channeled into their positions in the hierarchy of the workplace. This finding confirms the argument that the function of schooling is to reproduce and continue parental socio-economic status as well as to provide social mobility.

8.7. Effects of social origin, education and matching on occupation of employees who were helped by other people to find jobs

This section analyses occupational attainment of those who were helped by other people to find jobs. Through the information given by these respondents it is possible to identify the effects of the matching process, in the form of source of job information, types of help and social ties of helpers, on occupational attainment. The analyses for males and females are not separated since the number of cases is small. The results show, as in section 8.6, that respondent's education, parents' education, father's occupation, as well as age and religion of mother also have significant effects on occupation. The model explains around 33 per cent of the variation in occupational attainment.

Unlike the previous section (Tables 8.1 and 8.3), this section shows that the matching process, especially types of help, has significant effects on children's occupation. As in Bridges and Villemez's findings (1986:579), the insignificant effect of social ties of source of job information and of helpers on occupational attainment does not confirm either the strong or weak social ties hypotheses. Marsden and Hulbert (1988:1045) and Bian (1997:366) found that 'strong social ties' rather than 'weak social ties' (Granovetter, 1974) provide a channel for higher occupational attainment.

Table 8.5, Model E, shows that occupational attainment of males is -2.84 points lower than that of females. One of the reasons for this is that, in this study, most females who were participating in the labour force are more educated, so they are more selective than males (Chapter 4). Another reason is that in the early career, females' occupational attainment is higher than that of males, because, according to Polachek and Siebert (1994:585-587), females are more likely to expect intermittent participation in the labour force; they are more likely to choose an occupation which has lowest human capital depreciation as a penalty for the intermittence: a job that has high starting wages and therefore flat age-earning profile. Males, on the other hand, since they do not expect any intermittence, have low starting wage or low occupation with steeper age-earning profile. Besides, the small number of female participants in the labour market relative to males and the emergence of various occupations appropriate for females in the area may also result in less fierce competition to obtain a higher occupation.

Table 8.5
Regression of the probability of occupational attainment among employees 15 to 29 years, who were helped by other people in finding jobs in three cities of Java, 1994 (N= 842) (Reference categories were coded 0).

Independent variables	Cases	Regression Coefficient					Standard-ized
		Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	
Sex : Females	322						
Males	520	-3.65***	-3.50***	-2.88***	-2.92***	-2.84***	-.06***
		(.76)	(.75)	(.72)	(.69)	(.70)	(.01)
Age	842	.96***	.91***	.73***	.44***	.43***	.07***
		(.11)	(.11)	(.10)	(.10)	(.11)	(.01)
Number of sibl.	842	-.24	-.22	-.17	-.10	-.08	-.01
		(.14)	(.15)	(.14)	(.13)	(.13)	(.01)
Place of birth							
Rural	95						
Urban	747		3.20*	.13	-1.55	-.02	-.004
			(1.15)	(1.25)	(1.19)	(1.51)	(.02)
Region							
Jakarta	525						
Semarang	144		-1.33	-.16	-.04	.30	.005
			(1.14)	(.1.10)	(1.04)	(1.04)	(.01)
Surabaya	173		-2.01*	-1.20	-1.08	-.84	-.01
			(1.02)	(.97)	(.91)	(.93)	(.01)
Ethnicity							
Babesuma	237						
Javanese	401		1.60	.42	-.24	.01	.002
			(.95)	(.92)	(.87)	(.88)	(.02)
Others	204		2.40*	.97	.63	.83	.01
			(1.02)	(1.08)	(1.02)	(1.02)	(.02)
Rel. of mother							
Non-Moslem	122						
Moslem	720		-4.33**	-3.25*	-3.03*	-3.00*	-.04*
			(1.26)	(1.21)	(1.13)	(1.14)	(.01)
Parents' educ.	842			1.09***	.55***	.53***	.07***
				(.13)	(.13)	(.13)	(.01)
Father's occup.							
Professional	35			5.29*	4.67*	5.04*	.04*
				(2.17)	(.2.04)	(2.01)	(.01)
Clerical	105			2..90*	2.27	2.86	.04
				(1.72)	(1.61)	(1.65)	(.02)
Trades	213			1.85	1.67	1.90	.03
				(1.49)	(1.40)	(1.43)	(.02)
Services	72			1.53	1.76	2.17	.02
				(1.79)	(1.68)	(1.69)	(.02)
Production	341			1.36	1.74	2.21	.05
Farmers	58			(1.42)	(1.34)	(1.37)	(.03)
Education	842				1.00***	1.00***	.19***
					(.10)	(.10)	(.02)
Voc. Training							
No training	542						
Trained	300				.42	.47	.01
					(.75)	(.75)	(.01)
Migration status							
Non-migrant	683						
Migrant	159					1.81	.03
						(1.18)	(.02)
Marital status							
Single	653						
Married	189					.19	.004
						(.85)	(.01)
Source of info.							
Non-family	310						
Family members	532					1.03	.01
						(1.13)	(.02)
Type of Help							
Non connection	253						
Connection	589					-1.46*	-.02*
						(.74)	(.01)
Social ties of helpers							
Families	350						
Others	492					1.04	.01
						(1.12)	(.01)
Constant		16.4571	18.6031	16.2471	15.8111	14.1874	
R square		.09	.14	.23	.32	.33	
F		28.61	14.20	15.64	21.80	17.21	
R square change		.09	.04	.09	.09	.00	
F change		28.61***	6.4***	15.42***	52.40***	1.39	

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.
( ), *, ** and *** see note on Table 3.3.

Table 8.6

Total effect, direct effect and indirect effect[a] of variables on occupational attainment among employees 15 to 29 years who were helped by other people in finding jobs in three cities of Java, 1994.

Independent variables (1)	Total effect (2)	Direct effect (3)	Indirect effect (4)	Indirect/Total effect (5)
Sex	-3.65***	-2.92***	-.73	.20
Age	.96***	.43***	-.53	.55
Siblings	-.24	-.08	-.16	.66
Place of birth	3.20*	-.02	-3.22	1.00
Region				
Semarang	-1.33	.30	-1.63	1.22
Surabaya	-2.01*	-.84	-1.17	.58
Ethnicity				
Javanese	1.60	.01	-1.59	.99
Others	2.40*	.83	-1.57	.65
Religion of mother	-4.33**	-3.00*	-1.33	.30
Education of parents	1.09***	.53***	-.66	.60
Father's occupation				
Professional	5.29*	5.04*	-.25	.04
Clerical	2.90*	2.86	-.04	.01
Trades	1.85	1.90	+.05	.02
Services	1.53	2.17	+.64	.41
Production	1.36	2.21	+.76	.55
Education	1.00***	1.00***	.00	.00
Vocational training	.42	.47	+.05	.11
Migration status	1.81	1.81	.00	.00
Marital status	.19	.19	.00	.00
Source of job info.	1.03	1.03	.00	.00
Types of help	-1.46*	-1.46*	.00	.00
Social ties of helpers	1.04	1.04	.00	.00

Source: Table 8.5.

[a] see note on Table 3.4.

Those who obtained jobs through connections had lower occupations than those who obtained jobs through non-connection help[6]. As shown in Table 8.5, Model E, assuming that everything else was equal, those who obtained jobs through connections had occupations that 1.46 points lower in the Ganzeboom index than those who were helped with non-connections. This is quite surprising. There are three possible reasons.

First, there is a real difference in the influence of power between non-connection help, mostly money capital, and connections, social capital, in the job allocation where money capital is superior. With sufficient financial help to support a longer search, a job seeker can pursue a wider range of job options that can result in a

[6] In contrast, Manning and Junankar (forthcoming) indicate that connection *(koneksi)* is commonly used in searching for higher rather than lower wage jobs.

higher occupational attainment. The key may be the fact that money capital is more fluid and can be converted into several target occupations, while connection only provides limited job options: occupations within the reach of the social network. In a situation of high unemployment, since all job seekers tend to convert their social capital, the value of connection as social currency apparently is devalued. Connection without involving money seems to be inadequate. On the other hand, in a situation where job purchasing is common (see Chapter 7), the influence of money capital on job allocation appears to be more powerful.

Secondly, different segments of the labour market demand different entry criteria that then force job seekers to seek different types of help. The modern and formal sectors, which offer relatively valuable jobs demand formal qualifications, are distributed nationally rather than locally, and their recruitment is mostly based on impersonal mechanisms. So financial support is more needed to travel and search for job information and search for jobs through formal contact, while connections based on personal networks seem to be less useful for these segments because of their impersonal recruitment mechanism[7]. As a result there is a higher occupational attainment in the modern and formal sectors, among those who are helped with non-connection. On the other hand, traditional and informal sectors provide opportunity for less skilled workers, and reliable connections are desirable for job seekers. With this argument the significant influence of money on occupational placement of job seekers is understandable.

Thirdly, those who obtain money help have a closer linkage to the employer than those who obtain connection. As mentioned in Chapter 6, those who obtain information from their family members are more likely to obtain help and the types of help obtained are more likely to be non-connection help, money capital, and are

[7] Marsden and Hulbert (1988:1051-10) found that informal contact and connection were related to employment in smaller firms rather than in big firms.

given by their family members. Therefore, the line of information is employers -> job information -> family members-> job seekers and the line of influence is: job seekers -> family members -> money help-> employers. Therefore family members (strong ties) are more likely to be involved directly in influencing job-assigning authorities. In this situation, it is possible that family members are also among the employers, therefore, the job seekers do not regard them as connectors or intermediaries.

On the other hand, as mentioned in Chapter 6, those who used connections are more likely to obtain job information from weak social ties, non-family members, and the connections are more likely to be given by them. Therefore through this spread of information and the line of influence, job seekers and their family members are less likely to be directly involved in influencing job-assigning authorities. Efforts to influence job-assigning authorities are relinquished to the third person outside the family – *the intermediary*.

Consequently, those who use money help can obtain a higher occupation than those who use connections. The superiority of non-connection (money capital) help over connection help implies that children of parents with high socio-economic status have greater competitive advantage in job hunting through better parental economic support. This finding also suggests that influence of types of help is more important than social ties in influencing occupational attainment.

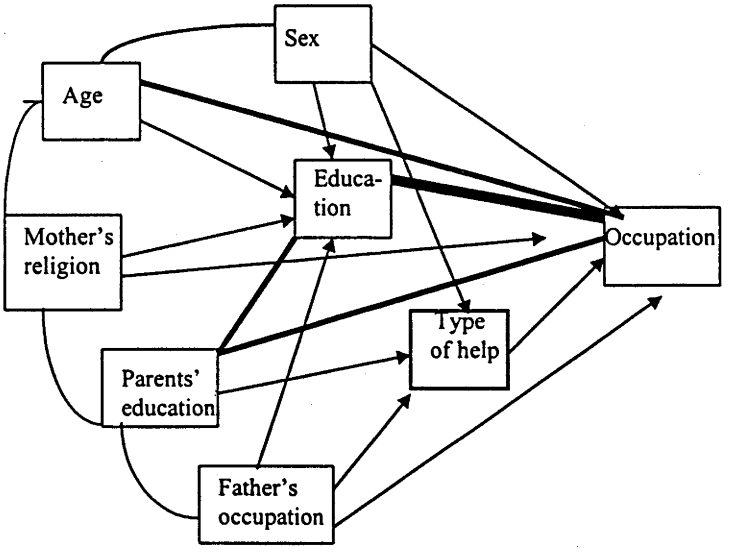
This suggests that parents' influence in directing their children into their social class trajectories is exerted not only through the effects of parents' education, father's occupation and children's education (Tables 8.1 and 8.3) but also through different degrees of parents' involvement in job hunting which are reflected in the types of help given to their children.

Similar to the path of influence explained in the previous section, age, mother's religion and parental background influence children's occupational

attainment in direct and indirect ways. The indirect effects of individual characteristics and socio-environmental and parental background are largely mediated through education: see Figure 8.1 and changes in the coefficients of those variables in Model C to Model D in Table 8.5. Nevertheless, parental background also influences occupational attainment through its indirect effects mediated by types of help given to their children. Table 8.5, Model E, shows that after matching-process variables, source of job information, types of help and social ties of helpers, are put in the model, the effect of father's occupation on children's occupational attainment increases. This suggests that parents in different occupations are involved differently in their children's job search process.

So education and type of help transmit the inequality of the social class of origin in occupational attainment. Since education also has the greatest direct effect, therefore, it is also the most important explanatory variable.

Figure 8.1
The influence (simplified path) of variables on the occupational attainment of employees 15 to 29 years who were helped by other people in finding jobs, three cities of Java, 1994



= the relationships were not the focus of this analysis.

= direct effect.

Source: Table 8.5.

8.8. Summary of findings

For both males and females, occupational attainment is largely determined by education, followed by parental background, especially parents' education and religion of mother. Nevertheless, compared to males, the occupational attainment of females depends much on their family background, since occupational attainment of females also depends on their father's occupation and the number of their siblings, and depends less on external or socio-environmental factors such as migration status and region. The direct and indirect effects, through schooling, of parental socio-economic status on children's occupational attainment are stronger for daughters than for sons. So the strength of the reproduction of socio-economic status from one generation to another is much stronger for daughters than for sons.

In general, the matching process has no significant effect on occupational attainment. The strong ties hypothesis suggests that strong social ties, such as family members or relatives, can provide job seekers with information that may leads to a better job. On the other hand, the weak ties hypothesis suggests that a person with weak social ties, such as friends will do better in finding a better job. There is no evidence which directly support either the strong or weak ties hypothesis. Nevertheless, this study shows that among those who are helped by other people in finding jobs, the types of help given to them significantly influence their occupational attainment. Non-connection help is more effective for obtaining a better occupation. The significant effect of type of help indicates that influence or material resource rather than source of job information and person who helped job seekers (social resource) is important in the matching process. The superiority of non-connection (money capital) help over connection help implies that children of parents with high socio-economic status have a greater chance in job hunting through better parental economic support.

As in the general pattern of stratification of the employees as a whole, among those who were helped by other people to find jobs in particular, education is also the most powerful predictor of their occupational attainment followed by parents' education, father's occupation, age, sex, religion of mother and types of help. If parental education represents prestige and parental occupation represents class, there is greater dependence of children's occupational attainment on the educational levels of parents than on the occupation of parents; this may indicate that the incorporation of young people into the hierarchy of the society reflected in this study remains largely based on prestige rather than class. This finding provides support for the assumption that the hierarchy of Javanese society is primarily 'prestige based' rather than 'class-based' (Mulder, 1985:107).

Not only does education have the greatest direct effect on occupational attainment, but also the influence of other variables on occupation is largely mediated through education. So education is the single most powerful predictor of the variation in occupational attainment. Since educational attainment is largely determined by parental socio-economic status (Chapter 3), and educational attainment is the single most powerful predictor of the variation of occupational attainment, this means that **schools** largely transmit and reproduce intergenerational socio-economic inequality. Nevertheless, the independent and significant direct effect of education on occupation indicates that education, which is only *partly* determined by parental background, also provides a way of social mobility. This evidence partly supports, and at the same time challenges, both reproduction theory, which suggests that education transmits and maintains status from generation to generation, and the liberal ideology of education which suggests that education is capable of creating progressive social change and redressing social inequality (see Dale et al., no date: 1-6). This finding appears to support the Critical Autonomy theory (Giroux, 1981), that education both reproduces social inequality and provides social mobility.

From the various determinants of stratification identified in this study, it is clear that in the three cities, the allocation of rewards to young people in their early careers is determined by multidimensional factors, both ascribed and achieved. Not only human capital (education training and migration), but also socio-economic status of parents (class and status dimension), primordial factors (religion), demographic factors (age and number of siblings) and the matching process especially type of help, determine their occupational attainment.

Since all those factors can explain less than half of the variation in occupational attainment, other factors that are independent of variables employed in this study and were excluded from the analysis, such as structural or organizational factors, may contribute to the job allocation of youth in Java. These factors need to be verified in other studies.

Nevertheless, since occupational reward is significantly dependent on parental socio-economic status, primordial factors, and monetary help in job hunting, investment in education seems to benefit more the most modernized and wealthiest group. If this trend continues, greater government funding of the education system will be likely to bring about greater social inequality. In this regard, the hope that education can equalize and unite Indonesian society will not be realized.

CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter consists of four parts: aims and approach of the study, summary of findings, limitations of the study and policy issues.

9.1. Aims and approach of the study

The aims of this study were first, to identify the determinants of educational attainment, labour-force participation, job-seeking behaviour and occupational attainment among youth aged 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java. Second, to examine the job search process among youth employees. Survey data that cover 3000 respondents were analyzed to achieve the first aim of the study, while qualitative research data were analyzed to achieve the second aim of the study.

Since the focus of the study is the relationship between social origin, education and job, the status attainment model provides an appropriate approach. Human capital theory and social reproduction theory are the relevant theories used to explain how social origin determines educational attainment and these factors then determine labour-force participation, search behaviour and process and occupational attainment. Regression analysis is used to measure the magnitude of the effect of independent variables on educational attainment, labour-force participation and occupational achievement. Multinomial logit regression is used to analyze search behaviour.

Human capital theory assumes that social background and the expected lifetime income determine the demand for investment in human capital. Investment in human capital changes the individual characteristics, such as skill and level of productivity, by which the individual is then rewarded through a higher occupation and income as a return on investment (Becker, 1975). This theory implies that education promotes social mobility.

Nevertheless, as Granovetter (1994:372) asserted,

> The two traditions that dominate current research in sociology and economics– status attainment research and human capital theory, respectively– are curiously similar in their nearly exclusive attention to characteristics and decision of individuals and their neglect of the nature of jobs and matching process.

According to Granovetter, the mechanism by which background, personal characteristics and levels of achievement are converted to income or occupation is simply neglected in human capital theory and the traditional status attainment model.

That is why job search behaviour, including job search methods, was included in this study. Other reasons for the inclusion of search behaviour in this study were: first, in the younger ages in particular, job-seeking behaviour is regarded as behaviour which results in high mobility and rapid income growth (Parsons, 1991:597) and is highly unequal between males and females, but it is rarely included in the study of stratification (Semyonov, 1980:542), in developing countries in particular[1].

Second, as Bourdieu (1986:147) pointed out, in the job search process, a class struggle involving strategies of parents to enable their offspring to inherit their social class is one of the most important factors in the transformation of social structures. Unlike human capital theory that is less attentive to the effect of non-educational factors on occupational attainment, social reproduction theory (Bourdieu, 1986) emphasizes non-educational factors – among others parental background – on occupational attainment. 'The rate of return on education', as Bourdieu asserted, 'is a function of the economic and social capital that can be devoted to exploiting it' (1986:134). Social reproduction theory also assumes that

[1] According to Banerjee and Bucci (1995:565) no one, in a developing country, has studied and tested the theory of search behaviour. Actually, besides Banerjee and Bucci (1995, in India), Fergus (1992, in Indonesia) has studied the issue. Unlike this study, nevertheless, they did not include an important factor in the stratification process, parental background, in the analysis and their analyses were divorced from stratification process analysis. Therefore, the inclusion of the issue of job-seeking behaviour among young people in the stratification process of the present study is theoretically important.

schooling serves to maintain and transmit the socio-economic status of parents to children.

On the whole, the application of the status attainment model in this study, as with any application of this model (Bielby, 1981:5), reveals the stratification process of young people in the sample: who gets what (high or low) education, who participates in the labour force and who gets what (high or low) occupation. The inclusion of the matching process in the model enables us to see the relative importance of job search methods on occupational outcome. Do educational institutions and occupational recruitment merely transmit parental socio-economic inequality in the school and subsequently in the labour market, or are they a vehicle for social mobility and promotion of equality?

9.2 Summary of findings

The summary of findings consists of four parts: first, the determinants of educational attainment and participation in the labour force based on Chapters 3 and 4; second, the determinants of job search behaviour, based on Chapter 5; third, the process and methods of job search, based on Chapters 6 and 7; and fourth, determinants of occupational attainment, based on Chapter 8. Trends in education and employment during 1980-1990 in Java (Chapter 2) provide a setting for this study.

As noted above, the main theme of this study is the relationship of social origin and education to labour-force participation, job-seeking behaviour and search methods, and occupational attainment.

9.2.1 Determinants of educational attainment and participation in the labour force

Rapid growth in the number of secondary and higher education graduates, and growth of non-agricultural employment in Java during 1980-1990, were accompanied by an increase in the participation of females in the labour force, high

unemployment among educated people and a decrease in the rate of return for investment in education. One overriding question is: who benefited from better access to education and structural change in the economy, and who won and how in the fierce competition for a better job?

Children of parents with high educational and occupational background, who were males, single, born in urban areas, and ethnically Javanese were most likely to obtain higher education, and thus benefited greatly from the provision of higher education. Sons, besides having higher educational attainment, were likely to complete educational disciplines and vocational training that had better long-term career prospects than those completed by daughters.

Parents' education was the most powerful predictor of children's educational attainment, not only because of its strong direct effect on children's educational attainment, but also because of its role in mediating the indirect effects of other variables, mainly socio-environmental variables[2]. The strong direct effect of parental education on children's educational attainment suggests that through schooling inequality in parental cultural capital (education) is strongly transmitted into the inequality of children's educational capital. If parental education is the indicator of cultural resources of parents and parental occupation is the indicator of economic resources of parents, this study confirms that the process of stratification in educational attainment in the area shows a stronger tendency of 'cultural reproduction' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) than 'economic reproduction' (Boudon, 1974). The insignificant effect of number of

[2] The mediation of the influence of socio-environmental background (especially place of birth, ethnicity and religion of mother) on educational attainment by parents' education may reflect two aspect. First, correlation: children who live in different socio-environmental settings also have parents with different levels of educational qualification. Second, causality: the influence of socio-environmental factors on children's educational attainment operates through parental education as intermediate variables; for example, religion affects educational attainment of children through parents' interpretations of their religion, which differ according to their levels of education.

siblings on educational attainment means that this study does not confirm the sibling hypothesis (Blake, 1989).

Research findings in this study that show the strong tendency of cultural reproduction from parents to children do not necessarily mean rejection of the modernization hypothesis, which assumes that the influence of parental background on children's educational achievement declines during the modernization process. A comparable study of this kind in this area needs to be undertaken to see the trends in increase or decrease of influence of parental background on children's educational achievement.

The significant differences in educational attainment between males and females, rural and urban, single and married shown in this study are in accordance with reproduction theory or cultural capital theory which emphasizes different social role expectations as the source of inequality in education. This finding also parallels human capital theory that suggests that different expected returns differently affect the incentives to further children's education. Social reproduction theory appears to have a more detailed explanation than human capital theory on of the fact that there was a greater effect of parents' education than father's occupation on children's educational attainment. Parents' education is regarded by reproduction theory as an important resource in 'pedagogic action' inside as well outside the household. Human capital theory, on the other hand, mainly concerns parents as the source of social demand and cost for education.

In general, socio-economic, socio-cultural and sexual inequality in schooling is clearly prevalent in the study areas. Children, especially sons, of parents of high socio-economic status, benefited most from the provision of higher education and were better equipped with educational credentials to enter the labour market. This is not surprising, and it suggests that highly subsidized

education does not necessarily result in the equalization of educational opportunity. Heavy subsidy on higher education[3] on the contrary tends to benefit most those who have a strong chance of passing senior high school levels: children of middle and upper socio-economic background. In this sense, heavy subsidy of higher education maintains or enhances social inequality.

Participation in the labour market is considerably higher among males than females. Labour-force participation of males is largely determined by natural factors, as measured by age and by parental and socio-environmental factors: religion of mother, region, and migration status. On the other hand, labour-force participation of females is largely determined by institutional factors: education, training and marriage. The great effect of education and vocational training on females' participation in the labour market, contrasting with the insignificant effect of these variables on males' participation, reflects the fact that human capital investment in females is crucial for bringing them into economic activities. For females, education and vocational training are crucial, not only because of their effect on the likelihood of participation in the labour force, but also because they transmit the effects of other variables, especially ethnicity and mother's religion. This means that education and vocational training are becoming more important for bringing females of the Babesuma ethnic groups into the labour market, since the barrier to participating in the labour force, a stronger sexual division of labour among the Babesuma than in other ethnic groups, appears to be influenced by their ethnicity and religion.

In this study, parents' education is one of the strongest underlying causes of the differentials in labour-force participation of females because: first, parents' education mediates the effects of ethnicity and mother's religion on daughters'

[3] In 1992, the tuition fees paid by students only covered 15 per cent of the expenditure of public universities(Boediono, McMahon and Adams, 1992:33).

labour-force participation: backward linkage. Second, parents' education also determines daughters' education, one of the greatest determinants of females' participation in the labour force. Third, parents' education and occupation have independent effects on daughter's occupational attainment: forward linkage (see Chapter 8). So, social class of origin, measured by parents' education and occupation, has great influence on two fronts: skill preparation or schooling and occupational opportunity. So social class of origin is important for explaining females' participation in the labour force. Papanek's (1985) view seems appropriate, that a key factor of females' participation in the labour force, the interplay between family structure and labour market opportunity, can be analyzed through social class.

The data show that education appears to mediate the entire effect of parents' education on females' participation in the labour force. This suggests that the schooling process is mediating the interplay between class structure and females' job opportunities in the labour market. Schooling perpetuates socio-economic inequality of parents in the next generation, for daughters in particular, and this perpetuation is then manifested in the differentials of labour-force participation of the daughters.

Social reproduction theory appears to be more powerful than human capital theory in explaining the differentials in females' labour-force participation, because it explains the causality between class of origin and education; education and occupational opportunity; and class of origin and occupational opportunity. So inequality in participation in the labour market is a simultaneous result of those causalities rather than the 'one-way traffic'– better education, greater female participation – that was emphasized by human capital theory. Human capital theory lacks explanatory power on the last part: the effect of class origin on occupational opportunity.

9.2.2. Determinants of job search behaviour

Different characteristics among young people result in different job search behaviour. Those who continue searching for a job, either while employed or while unemployed are assumed to have greater opportunity to achieve a better job than those who stop the search, remaining out of the labour force or employed but not seeking an alternative job. This study shows that in general, except for the marital status variable, the independent variables have greater ability to differentiate the search behaviour of employees (whether or not to continue the search) than of non-employees (whether to search for a job openly while unemployed or remain out of the labour force). This suggests that first, different characteristics, thus resources and aspiration, are more critical for the employees' decisions to continue or to stop the search, and less critical for the unemployed's. Second, searching for a job while employed was more affordable than searching for a job openly while unemployed. This provides evidence of widespread hidden under-employment in the three cities.

Search behaviour in the three cities is influenced by a complex set of factors. Much is explained by factors such as a longer expected participation in the labour market, wider job dispersion and adequate financial support from parents, as search theory of human capital theory suggests; but these factors seem to be inadequate to fully explain the search behaviour in the three cities. Indeed, those who have a longer expected participation in the labour market (males, single and young), and those who have higher expected lifetime income and wider job dispersion (the more educated and those with vocational training) are more likely to either search for a job while employed or openly seek a job while unemployed. Adequate financial support may also result in a higher probability of searching for alternative jobs among urban youth. The explanation of human capital theory for these facts is that the longer the expected participation in the labour force, the wider

the job dispersion and the greater the financial supports, the greater the likelihood of searching for a job.

These facts are interpreted by reproduction theory in different ways. Human capital theory suggests that continuing the search while employed or unemployed is a function of the job seekers' intrinsic characteristics (skills) which provide greater options in wages and occupations and the availability of support for the search. Social reproduction theory on the other hand envisages that continuing the search is a symptom of coercion or limited options in the field as a result of the disappearance of the rarity of particular educational qualifications (*numerus clausus*) and inadequate parental and social supports to obtain the aspired job.

Social reproduction theory seems to be more powerful in explaining other findings of this study: those who are migrants, those who live outside Jakarta, those whose mothers are Moslem, and the children of parents with low education are more likely to search for jobs while employed. Coercion, limited options or inadequate parental and social supports, rather than better options, appear to be the underlying factors that drive these people to continue the search.

Job seekers' attitudes towards their jobs, such as the 'feeling' that their jobs are mismatched, may be important in their decision to continue the search. In this study, indeed, employees who lived outside Jakarta, whose parents had low education and whose mothers were Moslem were more likely to say that the jobs they found were unmatched with their educational qualification. Therefore it is understandable that they were more likely to search for alternative jobs. A greater likelihood of searching for alternative jobs among children of parents with low education relative to those of parents with high education supports reproduction theory and contradicts the luxury hypothesis which assumes otherwise.

The fact that migrants are more likely to search for alternative jobs is also understandable, since they have more limited social networks to find the desired jobs.

In general, the likelihood of searching for a job while employed or unemployed was associated with the length of the expected participation in the labour market, the width of job dispersion and sufficiency of parental and social supports, job satisfaction and the possibility in the field to maneuver. Nevertheless, the tone of coercion reflected by the last three factors, which are emphasized by social reproduction theory, appears to be more sound and comprehensive for explaining the findings of this study. This situation also reflects that social reproduction in the three cities operates through different effectiveness of job acquisition, thus different wastage of human resources, among children of different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds.

9.2.3 The process and methods of job search

The process of social reproduction is also obvious in the process and methods of job search: source of job information, the availability of help and types of help.

9.2.3.1. The process of job search.

The process of job search shows a general pattern confirming social reproduction theory: that the strategy, consolidation and conversion of resources in efforts to obtain a job depend: first, on the volume and composition of resources, and second, on the state instruments of social reproduction, such as social norms that regulate the practice of individuals, households and recruitment in the society. Since the volume and composition of resources and the state instruments of social reproduction vary across individuals, each job seeker has different social space.

The job search process is determined not only by education and parents' occupation, but also by social, cultural and ethnic resources and sex.

In the analysis, the respondents were categorized into four types: Type A, respondents with low educational qualification and with fathers in low occupations. Type B, respondents with low educational qualifications and with fathers in high occupations. Type C, respondents with high educational qualification and with fathers in low occupations; and Type D, respondents with high educational qualification and with fathers in high occupations. Those who had an uncoupled match between their education and their social class of origin (types B and C) faced greater difficulties in identifying their own social trajectories. Their difficulties were reflected, not only in their reluctance to enter employment, but also in their definitions of the appropriate job aspirations, type and amount of resources to be converted and methods to achieve the desired job. Their difficulties created conflict with parents, which spread over those issues. In this conflict, the dominant resource, which for type B was the social and economic resources of parents and for type C was the educational resource of the children) was the primary capital by which the targeted job was then identified and pursued. As a result, the job search of Type B was more dependent on parents' resources, through additional courses, connections or brokerage, while Type C was more independent.

So, job seekers' social space structures their job search behaviour, in which through their effective resource conversion, they are subsequently moving into different social class trajectories. There is more social mobility, downward and upward, among those with uncoupled match of resources. The transition from school to work tends to be smooth among those with coupled matching.

The general norms used in the early stage of job search are the independence of job seekers and efficiency in the allocation of resources. If they fail to obtain the targeted jobs, the independence and efficiency principles are then

replaced with the principles of adaptation and effectiveness. Possible replacement of goals and restructuring the configuration of resources, however, depends on the volume and composition of resources and the state instrument of social reproduction faced by the job seekers. So, facing further rejection, job seekers' social space determines their response towards unemployment. For example, children of the middle class enter vocational courses, connections or brokerage to adapt themselves to the demand in the labour market, while children of the working class lower their job aspirations or temporarily adapt themselves to the socio-economic activities available in underemployment.

These are the synchronic aspects of the job search process as parts of the social stratification process. In conclusion, social order is partly maintained through differences in search behaviour and incorporation of job seekers' membership in the social order.

The quantitative data show that those who are more educated, with vocational training, especially sons, with educated parents, have a shorter unemployment period. This finding contradicts the luxury hypothesis and wage competition hypothesis[4] and supports the job competition hypothesis and social reproduction theory.

Additional search may therefore not be assumed to be beneficial, if job seekers assume that there would be no appropriate job left for them since new job seekers with better qualifications are entering the race. Every additional job seeker or worker with better education added to the queue results in the deterioration of the job seeker's position in the queue or worker's position in the rank of occupation

[4] . The wage competition model assumes that the additional search depends largely on the expected marginal return from additional job options and their wage dispersion compared to the marginal cost of the additional search. Since job options and the wage dispersion are largely determined by the skill possessed by job seekers, educated job seekers tend to continue the search and lengthen the unemployment period compared to less educated job seekers. The luxury hypothesis suggests that those who came from better economic background can afford a longer unemployment period.

(Thurow, 1975:96, 124). In this 'rush' situation assumed by the job competition hypothesis, therefore, the job opportunities left for the less educated people will be marginalized, and job seekers at the end of the queue, the less educated, will be left unemployed. This in turn will result in a longer period of unemployment among less educated people.

The social reproduction theory of Bourdieu (1986:134-154) in particular, which emphasizes the effect of mass-education, appears to be more powerful in explaining the findings of this study, because of its broader explanation that covers not only the effect of education but also the effect of sex and social class of origin on job search behaviour and length of unemployment. The strength of the devaluation of educational qualifications resulting from mass education has different effects on different people. Those who have narrow social space, less educated people, those with no vocational training, females and those with uneducated parents face greater difficulties in finding jobs; thus they have longer unemployment periods, because those with narrow social space have little space in which to maneuver. The narrower the ascribed or achieved social space, the longer the likely unemployment period. This means that the wastage of human resource is also greater among those with narrow social space: females and children of the working class. Therefore, social class and gender inequality in employment are partly maintained through different smoothness, measured by the length of unemployment period, in the transition among job seekers with different sex and parental background.

9.2.3.2. Job search methods: source of job information, availability and types of help and social ties of helpers

The data show that those with high education are more likely to find job information through weak social ties (friends) or no ties (mass-media or employment agencies), while those with lower education are more likely to find job

information through strong social ties (family or relatives). This finding confirms the social reproduction hypothesis and Granovetter's hypothesis (1974). Those with better cultural capital have better insight and access for using social network and job information from outside their family networks, so educated job seekers can reach a wider social network for obtaining the desired job.

The likelihood of obtaining help[5] in job acquisition, thus obtaining a better position in the labour market, seems to differ according to the priority in the family, sons rather than daughters and younger rather than older children; the need for improving the competitiveness in the labour market, for job seekers who have no vocational training and searching for a job in Jakarta; and the availability of chance or support, job seekers who obtained job information from their family members and with non-Moslem mothers. So, in accordance with the social reproduction theory, the habitus of way of thinking and family norms, the availability of resources and the field or context, all determine social practices of giving or obtaining help.

Discrimination against females seeking help to find jobs is probably one of the reasons why they tend to have a longer period of unemployment and to stop searching for alternative jobs if employed. The greater likelihood that children of non-Moslem mothers will get help than children of Moslem mothers may have indirectly contributed to higher occupational attainment among children of non-Moslem mothers.

Unlike the source of job information, the availability of help and social ties of helpers which have no significant direct effects on occupational attainment, the type of help has significant direct effects on the occupational attainment especially

[5] Help is defined as substantial help that effectively brought them their current jobs. Job information is not regarded as help.

of employees who were helped in finding a job. Therefore, it is important to draw the relationship between these factors and occupational attainment.

The data shows that the chance of obtaining connection as an effective help varies across regions (which apparently have different nature of work organization, being more impersonal in Jakarta), and social proximity of their parents to the targeted jobs (which differs according to their fathers' occupation and the availability of job information in the family). So the type of help obtained depends on employment setting and their parents' or family's position in the market.

Since the types of help obtained are independent of job seekers' characteristics and regarded as parents' efforts to prevent their children from 'down-classing', different occupational outcome resulting from different types of help can be regarded as a product of the different social and market position of their parents. In this regard, through different types of help given to their children, parents' social and market position was transmitted to their children. So parents' social and market position played an important role in the stratification process through the type of help given to their children. Why does non-connection result in a higher occupation? The reasons include the following findings.

First, in a high unemployment situation, valuable job information is more likely to be passed to persons in a limited network: strong social ties. Family members who can obtain this valuable information are more likely to have better social capital and closer relationship to employers: parents with high socio-economic status. So 'connection' in this sense is 'bound' inside the relationship of family members and employers, which has probably existed before one of the family is searching for a job. As a result they regard this hidden connection as insubstantial help.

Second, through this network, job seekers have a closer linkage, through their family members rather than through other people, thus with greater influence,

to the job assigning authority. The hypothetical scenario assumed by Bian (1997) suggests that: the *flow of job information* of this type of network travels from employers to family members to job seekers, while as a response, the *flow of influence* travels from job seekers to family members, who then give them money, to employers. Through this type of spread of information and line of influence, job seekers and their family members are more likely to be directly involved in influencing the job-assigning authorities. So a closer social proximity toward the job-assigning authority among them reflects greater political capital among them. On the other hand, among those who obtain jobs through connections, efforts to influence job-assigning authorities are relinquished to the *intermediaries:* connectors, outside the family members.

Third, money help (economic resource) is superior to connection help (social resource) for several reasons: money capital is more fluid and can be converted into several target occupations, while connections only provide limited job options, occupations within the reach of the social network. In a situation of high unemployment, since all job seekers convert their social capital, connections as social currency are apparently devalued. In a situation where job purchasing practice is common (see Chapter 7), the influence of money capital on job allocation appears to be more powerful. Different segments of the labour market demand different entry criteria: the modern and formal sectors which offer relatively valuable jobs are distributed nationally rather than locally, and their recruitment is mostly based on impersonal mechanisms. So financial support is more needed to travel and to apply for jobs through formal contact, while connections and personal networks seem to be inappropriate for the segments that use an impersonal recruitment mechanism.

The fact that those with greater access to the job-assigning authority and with financial support can achieve a better occupation clearly supports social

reproduction theory, which asserts that the return on educational capital, in this sense occupational attainment, is '...a function of the economic and social capital that can be devoted to exploiting it' (Bourdieu, 1986:134). This also suggests that children whose parents have greater access to the job assigning authority and can give money help can escape from down-classing.

9.2.4. Determinants of occupational attainment

Children with higher education and having vocational training, with educated parents, with non-Moslem mothers, migrants and those with non-connection help, can obtain higher occupations. Daughters in particular can obtain higher occupations if their father has a high occupation and if they have fewer siblings.

The fact that the type of help has a significant effect and source of job information and social ties of helpers have insignificant effects on occupational attainment implies that influence with money help is more important than information and its sources – either strong ties (Bian, 1997) or weak ties (Granovetter, 1974). This finding, nevertheless, indirectly supports the strong social ties hypothesis (Bian, 1997), which suggests that the job seekers who obtain job information from a person with strong social ties can obtain a higher occupation. Apparently, there are different socio-cultural settings for these two different hypotheses. In Western socio-cultural settings, the involvement of family members in recruitment is less common, thus recruitment is more open and weak social ties provide a better chance for social mobility (Granovetter, 1974 on the United States). In the socio-cultural setting of Java, where neo-feudalistic recruitment practices are common, strong social ties – family members or relatives as source of job information – may provide sponsored mobility for children, since this source of

job information may have a closer linkage to, and thus can influence, the job-assigning authorities.

The significant effect of the type of help on occupation suggests that parents' influence on the job allocation of their children into their social class trajectories is exerted not only through the effects of parents' education and occupation on children's education but also through parents' involvement in obtaining job information and helping their children in obtaining a job. So, in this regard, the matching process –which was neglected by human capital theory and the early status attainment model (Granovetter, 1994:272) but emphasized by reproduction theory (Bourdieu, 1986:134) – is proved significant in explaining occupational attainment.

In general, this study shows that there was a degree of association between background or social origin and achievement. Nevertheless, whether the strength of the association between background or social origin and achievement has been declining, indicating a growing openness of the society, assumed by modernization theory; or otherwise, as assumed by reproduction theory, needs comparable time series data to find a satisfactory answer.

In general, the research finding that shows a greater effect of education than of parents' education and father's occupation on youth's occupation is similar to most other findings using the status attainment model (see Blau and Duncan, 1967; Sewell and Hauser, 1975; Sewell, Hauser and Wolf, 1980).

The *independent* effect of education on occupation is important to note, since the direct effects of parental socio-economic status (parents' education and occupation) on their subsequent life cycle – education, participation in the labour force, search behaviour and occupational attainment –seem to decline. In other words, as people get older, the influence of parents on their achievement tends to

decline. Individual achievement rather than ascription is then assumed to have a greater role in their future career. This assumption needs to be studied.

The significant and independent direct effect of parental background – parents' education, occupation and religion – on the occupation of the children may imply that the economic return resulting from the occupational attainment for a given level of education differs across socio-economic backgrounds of their parents. Therefore, with the same amount of capital invested to achieve the same level of education, and apparently made at greater sacrifice by parents of lower socio-economic status, their economic reward is lower than for parents with high socio-economic status. Investment in education is becoming more beneficial for children and parents of the middle and upper class or among the most modern group. As a consequence, the differential in the social demand for education among parents with different socio-economic statuses possibly increases. If this is the case, the decline in the enrolment rate of pupils aged 14 and above in 1995 relative to the 1980s (Jones et al., forthcoming) possibly is partly caused by the discouragement of parents with low socio-economic status from sending their employable children to further their education.

Based on this situation, there is evidence that in these areas socio-economic status inheritance is prevalent: children of parents with high socio-economic status obtain high occupations and experience smooth transition through more effective job acquisition. In short, social order is continually reproduced, partly through different educational attainment, search behaviour and the involvement of parents in young people's effort to obtain better jobs.

Particularly for those who are helped by other people to find jobs, education is also the most powerful predictor of occupational attainment, followed by parents' education, father's occupation, age, sex and religion of mother. This is similar to the general pattern of stratification of the employees as a whole. The

influence of the other variables on occupation is largely, but not entirely, mediated through education.

In short, the reproduction of socio-economic status from one generation to another operates in at least two ways. Significant independent direct effects of parental background on children's occupation indicate that parental socio-economic capital, through for example social networks and job purchasing, is directly reproduced in children's occupational status inequality. And the influence of parental background on children's occupational attainment through education indicates that, through human capital investment, educational achievement of children reproduces and transmits the socio-economic status of their parents.

The great effects of parental socio-economic status on children's educational attainment and of educational attainment on occupational attainment indicate that schools largely transmit and reproduce intergenerational socio-economic inequality. Nevertheless, the *independent* effect of education from parental background on occupational attainment indicates that education, which is only *partly* determined by parental backgrounds, also provides a way of social mobility. The vicious circle in which children of poor people get poor jobs occurs but is incomplete. This evidence partly supports, and at the same time challenges, both reproduction theory (Bowles, 1972), which suggests that education merely transmits and maintains status from generation to generation, and the liberal ideology of education which suggests that education is capable of creating progressive social change and redressing social inequality (see Dale, Esland and MacDonald, no date: 1-6).

From the various determinants of stratification identified in this study, it is clear that in the three cities, the allocation of rewards to young people in their early careers is determined by multi-dimensional factors, both ascribed and achieved. Not only human capital (education, training and migration), but also socio-

economic status of parents (class and status dimension), primordial factors (religion and ethnicity), demographic factors (age and number of siblings) and the matching process– especially type of help– determine their occupational attainment. This implies that this extended status attainment model, with the inclusion in this study of matching process variables (type of help in particular) and other non- parental background variables, is applicable for explaining the stratification process in the area.

Nevertheless, since the model can explain less than half of the variation of occupational attainment, other factors that were excluded from the analysis, such as motivation, individual ability and organizational factors may have contributed to the job allocation of youth in Java. The relative significance of these other factors needs to be determined.

In summary, since there are social, cultural and ethnic differentials in the transition and social stratification identified in this study (Chapters 3 – 8), and growing disparities between educational enrolment and occupational opportunities from 1980 to 1990 and a decline in the rate of return on investment in education (Chapter 2), it is probable that the decline in the rate of return in education differs across social, cultural and ethnic groups, benefiting the most modernized groups. This process may have increased the disparity in the demand for education among these groups. If this is the case, the role of Indonesian schools as instruments for reducing inequality will not be effective.

9.3. Limitations of this study

In the Indonesian context, the theme of this study, as a scientific as well as policy issue, is a pioneering one. This study, with greater emphasis on the effect of social origin and the matching process and the path analysis provided by the status attainment model, provides a picture of the *process* of social dynamics. The research tradition in Indonesia, on the other hand, on education and employment in

particular, heavily emphasizes *the trends and determinants* of participation in the labour force and its outcome (see Bakir and Manning, 1983; Simanjuntak, 1984; Fergus, 1992; Boediono et al., 1992; Tirtosudarmo, Handayani and Daliyo, 1995; Handayani, 1995; Daliyo, 1995 and Rusman, 1995). This tradition shows the snapshots and direct effects of the explanatory variables rather than the process, therefore it neglects the underlying mechanisms governing the process of stratification and its implications for social, cultural and ethnic disparities.

Research tradition in Indonesia, measuring the level of employment using the labour force concept, tends to underestimate hidden unemployment or labour under-utilization. Efforts to identify the determinants of participation in the labour force appear to hide various strategies taken by young people, in particular in their transition from school to work. In situations where job opportunities are limited, those approaches appear to be insensitive. Multinomial logit analysis used in the present study, that can identify the determinants of labour behaviour as being out of the labour force, unemployed, employed searching for alternative job and employed not searching for job, appears to be more sensitive to understand the situation of the labour force. The results of the analysis also suggest that efforts to develop search theory, on the length of search in particular, need to consider the length of the search for an alternative job. This is because the number of unemployed people and the length of unemployment are shortened by a greater involvement of school leavers in several post-school activities, such as vocational training and apprenticeship, and the search for a job appears to move from outside to inside employment.

The study, nevertheless, has some limitations. In general, this study may only reflect the stratification process of urban middle to lower-class youth, because of the limited coverage of the samples. In regard to job-search method, this study also does not provide analysis on the type of combined job search methods that are

usually employed simultaneously in the job search. Besides, the dichotomy between family members and non-family members as source of job information and help may not fully represent the concept of strong and weak social ties. This study also ignores the quality of education as a factor that influences occupational attainment. Another limitation is the absence of structural or organizational variables[6] in the status attainment model of this study. Structural and organizational factors are among the factors put forward by structuralists as the main factors that determine individual achievement (Baron, 1994:385).

Indeed, there are arguments defending the status attainment model as an approach which *indirectly* incorporates the structural factors in the model. Attainment studies are designed to measure the magnitude of the influences of family and education on individual's occupation, factors which are clearly structural in the sociological sense, and occupation as the dependent variable is not divorced from organizational influence since detailed occupations circumscribe the organizational promotion ladder (Baron, 1994:388). Another argument that is similar to modernization theory (Treiman, 1970) is that, in a situation where free-market and deregulation of market has been attempted to boost efficiency, contest mobility and meritocratic values seem likely to homogenize, rather than to heterogenize, the organizational behaviour of school and labour market, which in turn, result in the decrease in the influence of organizational factors on achievement. In this sense, the status attainment model is linked to neo-classical theory in economics (Bielby, 1981:15) or functionalist theory in sociology, not because of the individual-level data used, but because of its hidden assumption that macro forces shaping the allocation of individuals in social strata are universal and

[6] The main weakness of the model as stated by Duncan et al. (1972:3) '...is whether or not and to what degree such achievement depends on factors other than the individual's competence and inclination to perform the role on the basis of which status is conferred'

rational, bringing about universal criteria – potential productivity – for personnel allocation (Baron, 1994:386).

In spite of these arguments and the difficulties of obtaining a measurable variable, in the statistical sense, that represents the influence of structural factors (Baron, 1994:384), the need to include organizational or structural variables in the model, in my opinion, is clear for two reasons. First, there is no theoretical reason to see that individual and structural factors are mutually exclusive. Second, as proved in this study, employment prospects are also dependent on factors such as parents' education and occupation, factors that are independent from individuals' productive characteristics. So better employment prospects also depend on rent: 'resource that provides advantages for incumbents of social position that are independent from the characteristics of the incumbents' (Sorensen, 1996:1333). This indicates that different individuals' position in the *social structure* is a structural basis of social inequality. So variables that may represent the structural factors need to be established to verify their relative importance in the process of stratification. Other studies also show the importance of educational and political systems in the chance of social mobility (Turner, 1959; Blossfeld and Shavit, 1993).

Another limitation of this study is that since the application of the status attainment model shows the process and the determinants of stratification, it can only explain the 'surface phenomena' of stratification: the process and the determinants of stratification (Baron, 1994: 390). The remaining question is why *the* process goes this way and some variables are significant for determining the stratification. Indeed, some answers given by human capital theory and social reproduction theory may explain this. Nevertheless, the application of those theories in the area of this study has an inadequate point of departure to discuss the deep structures governing the stratification process, because structural variables

were not available in the data. This is the theoretical implication of this study, which also forms a research agenda[7].

9.4. Policy issues

Since Independence in 1945, the Indonesian government has been trying to equalize educational opportunity. The current government, as clearly indicated in the four main objectives of educational policy in the 1993-1998 Five Year Development Plan also intends to equalize educational opportunity, improve the quality and relevance of education to the needs of development, and improve the efficiency of management (Djojonegoro, 1994: 3-19; Depdikbud, 1995:4). Nevertheless, whether the heavy public subsidy of education redistributes income from the rich to the poor has not been fully understood. In a number of developing countries some evidence suggests that subsidies often favour the rich (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1990:272). The question whether there is any trend towards a reduced influence of the ascribed factors relative to the achieved factors on educational and occupational attainment is therefore important.

This research agenda is important, not only to assess who obtains the greatest benefits from government intervention, but also to answer whether or not the social structure is becoming more open or merit-based, indicated by an increase in the effect of the achieved factors relative to the effects of ascribed factors.

In this regard, research findings showing that provision of education largely transmits socio-economic inequality, and educated children with parents of low socio-economic status tend to find unmatched jobs (this study), and evidence of a decline in the enrolment rate of pupils aged 14 and above in 1995 relative to the 1980s (Jones, et al., forthcoming), may become signals of the ineffectiveness of

[7] Pioneering status attainment research by Marsden and Hulbert (1988) includes organizational variables (industrial sector and firm size) and occupational status of people who help job seekers in finding a job.

Indonesian educational institutions as an equalizing force as well as an investment option for a particular segment of society, the less privileged group.

The important policy issues, nevertheless, are not only on the possible wastage of human resources and decline in the quality of manpower, but also, and more importantly, whether job-dissatisfaction and withdrawal from the education system among children of the working class bring about or are driven by awareness of the fact identified in this study: that the distribution of advantage in their society is largely based on the individual's position in the social structure which is inherent in their parents' social class; and whether people who are disadvantaged by this reward system are aware of it and attack it. If this is the case, the pursuit of advantage could lead to class-conflict[8].

Nevertheless, because of limitations in the information drawn from this pioneering study, it is hard to draw reliable policy implications to respond to these signals, except, probably, the need for greater equalization of educational opportunity, relevance of education to economic development, and equal access to job opportunity for low-income people, females in particular. In this regard, affirmative policy initiatives and commitment to changing the reward system into a more meritocratic one are meant, not only for avoiding wastage of human resources and social contradiction, but also for enhancing the social demand for education and stability.

Some educational policies have been moving in this direction, but the policies on job opportunity and matching graduates to jobs seem to lag behind. One of the educational policies is gradual reduction of funding for university education accompanied by gradual improvement in funding for secondary education and tuition-free for primary education (Boediono, et al., 1992:33). Another is, change in

the orientation of the universities from heavy emphasis (75%) on the social sciences in 1994 to (70%) natural and technological sciences in 2018 (Djojonegoro, 1996:469). A third policy is tuition and test free entry for those with poor economic background but with higher achievement index, and a voucher system in university in particular; a fourth, the expansion of out-of-school education and open universities. Nevertheless, the government's commitment to the last two items appears to be limited[9]. The government's intervention in matching job seekers to job opportunities which provides room for direct affirmative action, so far is limited[10], and seem to have weakened since the 'zero growth' policy in public sector employment was strengthened in the early 1990s. Job opportunities for low-income families are declining with massive job dismissals resulting from the currency crisis in 1998. Will there be any greater chance for meritocratic recruitment and social mobility if the economy becomes more liberal?

With this question in mind, nevertheless, the new political emphasis on efficiency in education, leading to deregulation of educational institutions, seems to provide a new basis for self-protection and resistance to change among the elite: the emergence of elite schools (*sekolah unggulan*) provided by the government[11], the private sector and communities. This will strengthen school segregation along social class lines and probably also along ethnic lines. Efficiency through this track will further worsen inequality. If this is the case, and occupational rewards remain

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[8] It is unfortunate that in recent years, social riots marked by destruction of several buildings representing the authority and the elite economy in Indonesia appear to represents class-conflicts rather than merely vandalism or racial and religious tensions.

[9] In 1994, the participants in out-of-school education numbered only around 1.5 million, less than 1 per cent of the total population (Djojonegoro, 1996:470).

[10] In this study, only 5 per cent of the employed were placed through non-personal networks, such as Manpower Office (Chapter 6—section 6.4.1). Inadequate government intervention in matching between labour supply and demand was also shown in the limited placement of job seekers through the Manpower Office in Central Java (Appendix 9.1).

[11] Elite schools provided by the government are also apparently meant to prevent the potential applicants from entering the elite schools provided by private sector. Nevertheless, the result is a more stratified schooling and greater subsidy –not necessarily money– for those who can enroll into the elite schools: children of the elite. Recruitment in the academy that is highly subsidized –military

largely dependent on ascribed factors, the myth that education can enhance productivity of human resources, and equalize and unite Indonesian society, is likely to result, not only in wastage of human resources, but also in mass disillusionment.

academy–, as the governor of the academy said, was still perceived by parts of the society as using bribery system (*Kedaulatan Rakyat,* 1996).

Appendix 3.1
Characteristics of school leavers 15 to 29 years by sex and socio-environmental background in three cities of Java, 1994

	Males		Females	
	N	%	N	%
Migration status				
Non migrant	1250	83.5	1214	80.8
Migrant	247	16.5	289	18.2
Place of birth				
Rural	152	10.2	173	11.5
Urban	1345	89.8	1330	88.5
Ethnicity				
Babesuma	444	29.7	402	26.7
Javanese	702	47.0	760	50.6
Others	349	23.3	341	22.7
Religion of mother				
Non-Moslem	163	10.9	185	12.3
Moslem	1334	89.1	1318	87.7
Marital status				
Single	1212	81.0	883	58.7
Married	285	19.0	620	49.3
Total	1497	100.0	1503	100.0

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

Appendix 3.2
Characteristics of school leavers 15 to 29 years by sex and parental background in three cities of Java, 1994

	Males		Females	
	N	%	N	%
Parents' education				
<Primary	432	28.9	429	28.5
Primary	632	42.2	614	40.9
Junior S	280	18.7	253	16.8
Senior S >	153	102	207	13.8
Fathers' occupation				
Professional	59	4.0	50	3.4
Clerical	183	12.5	202	13.8
Trades	386	26.3	333	22.7
Services	200	13.6	198	13.5
Production	553	37.7	553	37.7
Farmers	87	5.9	132	8.9
Total	1497	100.0	1503	100.0

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

Appendix 3.3a
Educational attainment of male school leavers 15-29 years
by some explanatory variables in three cities of Java, 1994

	Educational Attainment								
	<Primary	Primary	Junior S	Senior S	Tertiary	Total %	n	Phi	P
Education of Mother								.453	***
<Primary	15.1	20.7	21.2	39.5	3.5	100	425		
Primary	4.4	12.9	23.1	54.0	5.5	100	618		
Junior S	2.5	2.5	11.9	72.6	105	100	277		
Senior S >	1.4	0.7	4.7	62.2	31.1	100	148		
Education of Father								.429	***
<Pimary	16.9	25.1	18.6	35.9	3.5	100	231		
Primary	6.5	15.7	24.9	49.6	3.4	100	567		
Junior S	5.0	6.1	18.1	62.4	8.4	100	359		
Senior S>	1.9	2.3	7.7	66.6	21.5	100	311		
Occupation of Father								.321	***
Professional	1.7	1.7	8.5	57.6	30.5	100	59		
Clerical	4.4	4.4	8.7	72.1	10.4	100	183		
Trades	6.5	11.7	18.9	54.7	8.3	100	386		
Services	4.5	8.5	15.0	59.5	12.5	100	200		
Production	9.2	13.9	23.1	48.8	4.9	100	553		
Farmers	6.9	32.2	24.1	33.3	3.4	100	87		
Occupation of mother								.188	***
Profes.+ cler.	0.0	5.1	7.7	56.4	30.8	100	39		
Trade-prod.	9.0	16.8	21.1	44.2	9.0	100	348		
House kpg.	6.4	10.6	18.1	57.4	7.4	100	1080		
Total	6.7	12.0	18.4	54.3	8.6	100	1497		

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

Note: P= Pearson chi-square probability.

Appendix 3.3b
Educational attainment of female youth 15 to 29 years by some explanatory variables in three cities of Java, 1994.

	Educational attainment								
	<Pri-mary	Pri-mary	Junior S	Senior S	Terti-ary	Total %	n	Phi	P
Education of mother								.499	***
<Primary	21.0	25.8	21.7	28.6	2.9	100	419		
Primary	3.7	20.5	24.5	46.7	4.7	100	600		
Junior S	2.4	4.4	12.9	65.7	14.5	100	248		
Senior S >	4.0	2.0	5.5	66.7	21.9	100	201		
Education of father								.551	***
<Primary	27.1	28.8	18.8	22.5	2.9	100	240		
Primary	7.0	24.8	26.2	37.7	4.4	100	573		
Junior S	4.0	6.3	22.2	62.6	5.0	100	302		
Senior S>	2.0	4.5	5.4	67.4	20.7	100	353		
Occupation of father								.372	***
Professional	2.0	10.0	10.0	56.0	22.0	100	50		
Clerical	1.5	5.4	15.3	66.3	11.4	100	202		
Trades	7.2	16.5	22.2	43.5	10.5	100	333		
Services	5.1	8.6	13.1	59.6	13.6	100	196		
Production	10.8	19.5	21.0	44.8	3.8	100	553		
Farmers	19.7	37.9	22.0	18.2	2.3	100	132		
Occupation of mother								.188	***
Prof.+ clerical	2.7	0.0	10.8	62.2	24.3	100	37		
Trade-prod.	11.3	22.3	23.7	35.9	6.8	100	354		
House kpg.	7.5	15.5	18.1	51.1	7.8	100	1108		
Total	8.3	16.7	19.2	47.7	8.1	100	1503		

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

Note: P= Pearson chi-square probability.

Appendix 4.1

Logistic regression of the probability of participation in the labour force among school leavers 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994 (The omitted categories are coded 1)

Independent Variables	Without Interaction			Interaction with sex		
	Coeffi-cients	Standard errors	Significant	Coeffi-cients	Standard errors	Significant
Sex						
Females						
Males	3.10	.22	.00	-2.12	1.71	.21
Age	.02	.02	.40	-.01	.02	.61
Number of sibl.	-.05	.03	.07	-.05	.03	.07
Place of birth						
Rural						
Urban	.09	.27	.74	-1.97	.28	.59
Region						
Jakarta						
Semarang	.29	.21	.15	.27	.21	.21
Surabaya	.33	.17	.05	.38	.18	.03
Ethnicity						
Babesuma						
Javanese	.17	.17	.30	.19	.18	.28
Others	.20	.19	.31	.21	.20	.29
Rel. of mother						
Non-Moslem						
Moslem	-.01	.02	.64	-.01	.03	.64
Parents' educ.	-.01	.01	.55	-01	.01	.52
Father's occ.						
Professional	-.04	.42	.93	-.16	.44	.70
Clerical	.06	.32	.86	-.02	.33	.95
Trades	-.18	.28	.52	-.26	.30	.38
Services	.02	.34	.96	-.08	.35	.81
Production	-.05	.27	.86	-.18	.29	.52
Farmers						
Education	.08	.02	.00	.08	.02	.00
Voc. training						
No training						
Trained	-.04	.14	.79	.19	.15	.20
Marital status						
Single						
Married	-2.52	.15	.00	-2.66	.16	.00
Migration status						
Non-migrant						
Migrant	.06	.22	.80	.01	.23	.97
Sex*age				.35	.09	.00
Sex*marital status				1.66	.59	.00
Sex*education				-.19	.08	.03
Sex*voc. training				-2.66	.59	.00
-2 Loglikelihood	1640.58			1547.42		
Model Chi-square	1009.74			1102.90		
Improvement				93.16**		

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

Appendix 5.1.
Multinomial logit analysis of search activities (Parameter Estimates), school leavers 15 to 29 years in three cities of Java, 1994 (US was coded 0, and coded 1 if otherwise)[a]

Independent variables.	ln (*Pes/Pus*) equation (1)	ln (*Pens/ Pus*) equation (2)	ln (*Polf Pus*) equation (3)
Constant	.2849	.9919	4.7107
Marital status *Sex			
Married males			
Married females	-.8487*	-.3227	1.9674**
Single males	-.4524*	-.5608**	-.9374*
Single females	.5801	.3607	-.5715
Age	.1344**	.1521***	-.0087
Number of siblings	-.0578	-.0738*	-.0624
Place of birth			
Rural			
Urban	-.8515	-.6482	-1.2240*
Region			
Jakarta	-.7134*	.0914	.3272
Semarang	-.2563	-.09714	-.5046
Surabaya			
Ethnicity			
Babesuma	-.0549	-.2240	-.3524
Javanese			
Others	-.6760	-.4247	-.3002
Religion of mother			
Non-Moslem			
Moslem	.8830*	1.1022*	.2744
Parents' education	-.0146	.0428	-.0087
Father's occupation			
Professional	-.3376	-.0967	-.1173
Clerical	-.3099	-.1301	.1679
Trades	.0396	.0991	-.0188
Services	-.2446	-.10761	-.2713
Production			
Farmers	1.3306*	1.2979*	.6129
Education	-.0281	-.1326**	-.1565**
Vocational training			
No training			
Trained	.0082	-.2318	-.4553*
Migration status			
Non-migrant			
Migrant	-.0479	.3124	-.5716

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

[a] Reference category was married males, Javanese, non migrant, urban born with non-Moslem mother and with father in production occupation, who lived in Surabaya, with no vocational training experience, with mean age (23.5 years), education (12.35 years of schooling), parents' education (6.94 years of schooling) and with mean number of siblings (5.7).

Appendix 5.2
The procedure of obtaining the probability of searching for job while unemployed (US) among married females (example)

$$P(US) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{Xi\,\alpha\,es} + e^{Xi\,\alpha\,ens} + e^{Xi\,\alpha\,olf}} \qquad \text{(equation 4, Chapter 1)}$$

Notice: mean of age = 23.5
mean number of siblings = 5.7
mean of parents' education = 6.94
mean years of schooling = 12.35 (see Chapter 3, Table 3.1).

$$Xi\,\alpha_{es} = e\,[(.284910 + (-.849750) + (23.5 \times .134400) + (5.7 \times -.057877) + (6.94 \times -.014634) + (12.35 \times -.028091)] = \mathbf{6.142165}$$

$$Xi\,\alpha_{ens} = e\,[(.991950 + (-.322700) + (23.5 \times .152100) + (5.7 \times -.073773) + (6.94 \times .042867) + (12.35 \times -.132610)] = \mathbf{11.975434}$$

$$Xi\,\alpha_{olf} = e\,[(4.710700 + 1.967400 + (23.5 \times -.008866) + (5.7 \times -.062417) + (6.94 \times -.008768) + (12.35 \times -.156510)] = \mathbf{61.717514}$$

So, the probability of searching for job while unemployed (US) for married females is

$$\frac{1}{1 + e\,(6.142165 + 11.975434 + 61.717514)} = \mathbf{0.01237}$$

The results of the calculation are presented in Table 5.1 (Chapter 5).

Appendix 6.1
Percentage distribution of employees 15 to 29 years
who were helped by other people in finding jobs, by some explanatory variables,
in three cities of Java, 1994

Independent variables	With help	No help	Total %	N	Phi	P
Education					.089	*
<Primary	37.0	63.0	100	135		
Primary	48.0	52.0	100	254		
Junior S	41.8	58.2	100	349		
Senior S	39.7	60.3	100	1050		
Tertiary	30.2	69.8	100	202		
Vocational training					.089	**
No training	43.9	56.1	100	1236		
Trained	34.9	65.1	100	860		
Age					.066	*
15 to 19	47.4	52.6	100	232		
20 to 24	41.3	58.7	100	980		
25 to 29	37.0	63.0	100	884		
Sex					.066	*
Females	36.4	63.6	100	888		
Males	43.0	57.0	100	1208		
Region					.110	***
Jakarta	44.7	55.3	100	1174		
Semarang	37.4	62.6	100	385		
Surabaya	32.2	67.8	100	538		
Religion of mother					.022	ns
Non-Moslem	43.0	57.0	100	284		
Moslem	39.7	60.3	100	1813		
Total	40.0	60.0	100	2096		

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

Appendix 6.2
Types of help given to employees 15 to 29 years in finding a job, by some explanatory variables in three cities of Java, 1994.

Independent variables	Types of help			Total			
	1	2	3	%	n	Phi	P
Social ties of helper						.166	**
Family	17.7	63.4	18.9	100	350		
Friends	7.3	74.3	18.4	100	467		
Others	8.0	80.0	12.0	100	25		
Parents' education						.123	*
<Primary	19.8	61.9	18.3	100	126		
Primary	12.2	69.4	18.3	100	327		
Junior S	7.8	72.5	19.7	100	193		
Senior S>	9.2	73.5	17.3	100	196		
Occupation of father						.241	***
Professional	5.7	74.3	20.0	100	35		
Clerical	2.9	76.2	21.0	100	105		
Trades	19.2	59.6	21.1	100	213		
Services	5.8	78.8	15.4	100	104		
Production	9.1	72.8	18.1	100	309		
Farmers	29.3	56.9	13.8	100	58		
Education						.182	**
<Primary	23.1	57.7	19.2	100	52		
Primary	17.7	70.0	12.3	100	130		
Junior S	16.0	66.0	17.9	100	156		
Senior S	7.3	73.7	19.0	100	441		
Tertiary	9.5	63.5	27.0	100	63		
Vocational training						.136	**
No training	6.0	72.3	21.7	100	300		
Trained	14.8	68.6	16.6	100	542		
Place of birth						.198	***
Rural	29.5	55.8	14.7	100	95		
Urban	9.4	71.8	18.9	100	747		
Migration status						.163	***
Non migrant	9.2	71.3	19.5	100	683		
Migrant	22.0	64.2	13.8	100	159		
Ethnicity						.163	**
Babesuma	16.5	58.6	24.9	100	237		
Javanese	9.7	76.1	14.2	100	401		
Others	9.8	71.1	19.1	100	204		
Region						.197	***
Jakarta	14.5	63.0	22.5	100	527		
Semarang	9.0	79.9	11.1	100	144		
Surabaya	5.2	82.7	12.1	100	173		
Total	**11.6**	**70.0**	**18.4**	**100**	**842**		

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.P=Person chi-square probability.
Note: 1=loans, site & business permits 2= connection 3. Grant, training.

Appendix 7.1: Methodology, location and respondents

7.1.a: Methodology

Using an inductive approach, this chapter explores each respondent's life history, especially at the time between leaving school and the second job, using assumptions as little as possible. We could follow respondent's explanations with guided questions to explain the key themes of this study. To find data that could be compared and analyzed according to the themes of this study, the exploratory outcomes need to be deepened with more tight questions. In-depth interview is necessary to find the rationale of the behaviour.

'To what degree can be sure that our interview question actually reveal what people really think?' (Hutson and Jenkins, 1989:111). This question relates to the philosophical question of 'other-ness'. Nevertheless, the researcher could maximize the level of reliability of the explanation by looking at the consistency of the respondent's explanation, by checking his or her attitude consistency. Since this study is about behaviour in relation to achieving a particular goal (obtaining a job as the final goal with some intermediate goals), consistency of the attitude was examined during the interview.

Since the aim of this chapter is to describe the process and patterns of job seeking behaviour among job seekers with different sex, education and socio-economic background, methodological problems emerge in regard to the selection of the sample that could eliminate or enhance the influence of factors other than father's occupation such as mother's and siblings' employment status and occupation. Realizing this problem, it is unavoidable to accommodate the possible influence of mother and siblings, however, it will be limited as long as the interviewee is mentioning those influences in the process of job search. To reduce the variation of the effect of mother's occupation and number and employment status of siblings, the respondents were also selected among those with mothers having no occupation (housewife) and with number of siblings ranging between three and seven, and with one unemployed sibling and three employed siblings. Based on these criteria, 30 samples were drawn from 500 samples available in the previous survey on which this study is based. Nevertheless, since the aim of this chapter is to study the influence of education and parental background (especially father's occupation) on search behaviour, the constructed typologies then were: first, respondent with low education and with father in low occupation (type A, 7 cases), second, respondent with low education and with father in high occupation (type B, 5 cases), third respondent with high education and with father in low occupation (type C, 12 cases) and fourth, respondent with high education and with father in high occupation (type D, 6 cases). Those who never attended vocational training courses, college, or university were categorized as low educational qualification and fathers with holding manual occupation were categorized as low occupation (List of respondent in 7.1.c).

The chosen samples were not designed to represent statistical probability, but to represent possible plurality of the stages and patterns of job seeking behaviour. Most of the respondents were taken from the survey on which this study is based, in Semarang in particular, however, any source of information that could explain the theme of the study, such as employers and job brokers were also accommodated to enrich the analysis. Therefore, each sample is regarded as a strand of a complex phenomena and has equal weight in the analysis in which the extreme phenomenon may even mark and enhance the range of plurality. However, since each sample is not unique or incomparable data, based on the sample available, we could describe and generalize the process of job search and generate an abstract pattern of relationship to explanatory factors and its theoretical explanation.

The practical reason for choosing Semarang as a study area for qualitative research is that in this city compared with other cities in this study -Jakarta and Surabaya-more time is available for respondents and their parents to be interviewed since the time to reach their home after working is shorter. It is theoretically important to consider parents' opinions regarding the process of job search, especially their strategy and support, because parents influence the decision in the job process. Interviews were conducted from 28 May to 13 July 1996.

One of the limitations of life history data is possible memory lapse as a result of the time lag between the time of interview and the time of particular events explained by the respondent. However, this possible drawback of the data may be compensated for by the fact that, in this study, the life time of unemployment as a focus is mostly experienced by the unemployed -as latter indicated in the interviews as an ordeal, an extraordinary time in their life especially of broken transition from school to employment, so it is hardly likely to be forgotten.

7.1.b: Location.

Semarang is the capital city of Central Java province with 3 million inhabitants. Respondents live in two densely populated *kampongs* (villages) (around 50 ha with around 11,000 peoples in 1996) in the downtown area of Semarang. The population consists of mixed ethnic and religious groups: the Javanese majority, Chinese, Arabs (mostly in trades) and other ethnic minorities. These two *kampongs* are divided by one main street, with hundreds of shops, several travel agents and parking lots located along this street. Along the secondary roads, there is a big market, several car and motor cycle service and repair shops, restaurants, small coffee shops, and public amenities. The inner *kampong* was mainly housing areas, some of them with cottage industry activities. Based on *kampong* administration records (1996), around 65 per cent of the population were working, 10 percent of them were traders, most of them Chinese, 20 per cent were trade workers, 30 per cent in services, 20 per cent were production workers, 5 per cent were government officials, while the rest were mainly in transportation and constructions occupations.

According to the local government officials, teachers and police who live in this area, the mixed ethnic and religious groups of the residents has existed since the eighteenth century, nevertheless, occupational segregation remains. The majority of Javanese remain in non-trades sectors, and as shown in their housing, are generally less wealthy than the Chinese who are dominant in trades sectors. Their housing and criminal records may represent ordinary citizens in the sense that there is no housing in very poor or very luxurious condition and the crime rate was normal, mostly petty crime such as theft of car accessories, small burglary, house-breaking and juvenile delinquencies. Although the majority of workers were working outside their *kampongs*, in recent years, especially among trade and service workers who were working inside the *kampongs*, the threat of unemployment has increased. Some of their work places which initially consisted of small and fragmented shops, markets and parking lots have been gradually rebuilt or transformed into mall-like shops, and the parking lot management have also been transformed into more 'integrated' management.

With the transformation of the management and authority to municipality level, *kampong* authorities and local shop owners, with whom local job seekers initially could ask for jobs, have lost power to open up jobs for the local people. This phenomenon was not unique, since many of the old down-town and other parts of the cities throughout Java -at least since the last two decades- seem to have similar patterns on the re-reconstruction of their areas. The change of the management had

washed out the privilege of local people for obtaining local jobs and opened up competition with other job hunters from outside. The labour market has been more open and integrated into a wider setting. The implication may be that the job search behaviour among the downtown youth will not be much different from that of urban youth in general.

7.1.c
Respondents, education and parental background.

Respondent					Father		Mother
Name	Type	Case	Education	Course	Education	Occupation	Education
A-an (f)	A	15	Junior High	No	Primary	Meat trader	Primary
Adi (m)	A	1	Junior High	No	N. S	Artist	NS
Arif (m)	A	28	Junior High	No	Primary	Street vendor	NS
Barjo (m)	C	8	BA	No	Primary	Barbershop	NS
Beng H (m)	A	5	Primary	No	N.S	Rickshaw driver	NS
Chi-chi (f)	D	18	Univ	English + computer	Junior High	Entrepreneur	Junior High
Didi (m)	D	20	Univ	English + computer	Junior High	Ret. Army	Primary
Dhn (f)	C	22	University	English	Primary	Primary school teacher	Primary
Hrh (f)	A	21	Senior High	No	Junior High	Police	Junior High
Inayah (f)	B	6	Senior High	English +Computer +Book Keeper	Junior High	Textile trader	Primary
Jono (m)	C	24	Junior High	No	N.S	Used bicycle broker	NS
Jun (m)	A	26	Junior	No	N.S	Driver assistant	NS
Kam (m)	B	23	Senior High	Electronic	Primary	Clerk	NS
Kentrung(m)	C	17	SMA	No	Junior High	Ret. teacher (ex-political prisoner)-unemployed	NS
Kusumo (m)	D	11	Univ	English	BA	Field manager in oil mining	Junior High
Mukidi (m)	C	9	BA	No	Primary	Safeguard	NS
Ning(f)	D	19	Univ.	English	Senior High	Restaurant owner	Junior High
Redha (f)	B	13	Senior High	Computer	Junior High	Travel agent	Junior High
Rembang (m)	C	25	BA	No	NS	Pet trader	NS
Ririn (f)	D	12	Univ.	Computer + English	Senior High	Contractor	Senior High
Ryatun (f)	C	14	IKIP	No	Primary	Storage worker	NS
Rofi (f)	B	2	SMA	Book keeping			
Sumardi (m)	C	10	Univ.	No	Primary	Farmer	NS
Sumedi (m)	C	30	BA	No	Primary	Motor-cycle broker	NS
Sumi (f)	A	16	Senior High + half year in college	No	NS	Well digger	NS

continued

Sunyoto (m)	D	4	Univ.	English	BA	Sub-district head	Primary
Ton (m)	C	27	Senior High	No	NS	Farmer	NS
Ton (m)	C	29	Senior High	No	Primary	Farmer	NS
TuckBc (m)	C	3	SMA + 1 year in college	English + Food beverage	Junior High	Ret. teacher (ex-political prisoner)- rickshaw driver	Primary
Yanti (f)	B	7	Senior High	Book keeping	BA	Food & beverage. Dealer	Primary

Informants

Name	Occupation	Education
Mkls (m)	Migrant broker	Junior Secondary
Mulsa (m)	Government official	University
T (m)	Government official	University
Xs (m)	Ex-personnel manager Government official	University

Note: (m) = males, (f) females.

Source: Field Research, 1994.

Appendix 7.2.

Connections and brokerage are rampant in Java for a number of reasons. First, rapid growth of modern economic sectors results in a cultural gap: job seekers and their families do not understand the complicated mechanism of recruitment in the impersonal organization of modern sectors. This cultural gap results in the need for connectors and brokers who can meet the needs of people used to traditional organization who want to enter a modern organization. The second reason is neo-feudalism, in the sense that there is little or no separation between occupation and the people who are appointed (by the employer) to the occupation as a result of a perception that occupation is *possessed* as his own means of production. Third, there is the patron-client relationship in which both patron and client are linked by moral obligation to act as patron and as client. The fourth reason is the availability of a chance to operate connections and brokerage due to the weakness of the bureaucracy and the existence of social networks which can relate the needy people to the job- assigning authority.

Appendix 8.1

Regression of the probability of occupational attainment, employees 15 to 29 years, three cities of Java, 1994 (N=2096)

	Without interaction with sex variable	Interaction with sex variable
Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	Regression Coefficient
Sex	-2.66***	-7.55
Age	1.06***	.66***
Number of siblings	-.39**	-.52**
Place of birth	-.19	-.10
Region		
Semarang	2.49*	1.03
Surabaya	2.11*	2.04
Ethnicity		
Javanese	.34	1.21
Others	.65	2.35
Religion of mother	-4.30**	-3.59
Parents' education	.40**	.16
Father's occupation		
Professional	.77	1.43
Clerical	-2.41	-.06
Trades	-.22	.28
Services	.08	2.53
Production	.61	1.32
Education	.99***	1.34***
Voc. training	3.41***	2.99***
Marital status	-7.60***	.01
Migration status	2.600*	-12.52
Source of information	8.87***	11.22
With other people's help	11.52	13.85
Sex*age		.74
sex*sex		.26
Sex*place of birth		1.28
Sex*Semarang		3.32
Sex*Surabaya		1.28
Sex*Javanese		-1.66
Sex*others		-3.08
Sex*religion of mother		-.89
Sex*education		.49*
Sex*vocational training		-.01
Sex*migration		5.19*
Sex*marital status		14.53***
Sex*parents' education		.02
Sex*professional		-3.35
Sex*clerical		-6.38*
Sex*trades		-3.31
Sex*services		-6.61*
Sex*production		-4.43*
Sex*education		.49*
Sex*vocational training		-.01
Sex*migration		5.19*
Sex*marital status		14.53***
Sex*source of information		-5.55**
Sex*other people's help		-3.82*
Constant	-12.86	-5.76
R square	.29***	.35***
R square change	.29***	.06*
F change	59.76**	38.92***

Source: 'The Dynamics of Youth Education and Employment', 1994.

Appendix 9.1

Supply[a] of and placement for labour by educational attainment, Central Java 1981-1990.

	1981 -82	1982 -83	1983 -84	1984 -85	1985 -86	1986 -87	1987 -88	1988 -89	1989 -90
Supply									
Primary	27	137	173	44193	39358	18994	21457	22495	20813
Junior S	54	89	223	38979	47955	29040	33655	40068	21885
Senior S	332	625	1925	127500	98276	134900	176168	197284	85836
Academy	133	41	776	7056	1497	4985	5875	6852	7088
University	123	18	289	6850	2927	6103	8067	10818	9520
Total	672	910	3386	224578	190013	194022	245222	277517	145142
Placement									
Primary	85	20	2	579	7530	8726	12369	12157	18347
Junior S	130	31	67	106	2845	1928	2498	2970	7810
Senior S	150	540	349	1491	5320	3716	2955	3144	6024
Academy	13	70	22	351	1948	313	214	93	132
University	1	26	23	481	1007	200	214	109	354
Total	379	687	4638	3008	18650	14883	18250	18473	32667

Source: Bappedda Jawa Tengah, 1985: 33; 1988: 45 and 1994: 27.
a Apply through the Provincial Ministry of Manpower.

Note: Placement of less educated job seekers was mostly in public works.

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